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DAILY REPORT

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NEPSZABADSAQ MARKS HELSINKI FINAL ACT ANNIVERSARY

AU031256Y Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Aug 78 p 2 AU

["K.A." article: "Helsinki Obliges"]

[Text] Thanks to modern news transmission media, hundreds of millions of people saw and listened in on a festive event that took place 3 years ago; the signing of the Helsinki Final Act.

International public opinion was rightly satisfied with the historic conference held at Finlandia House and with the document resulting from it. It seemed a justified hope that an accord had come about capable of promoting cooperation, political and economic relations, a more extensive exchange of intellectual values among peoples and the strengthening of peace and security. To be sure, these objectives were laid down in the Final Act that heads of states and governments signed, committing themselves to implementing its contents.

The time that has since elapsed has shown that the Helsinki Final Act can be an effective instrument for intensifying and consolidating co eration among states with different social systems in Europe. In this spirit, there have been high-level meetings between leaders of socialist and capitalist countries and agreements serving cooperation since Helsinki.

The fact that the events during the 3 years since Helsinki have not fulfilled our expectations in every respect, after all, was by no means due to a relaxation of our efforts to expand detente. On the contrary, they have, if possible, even intensified. However, at the same time, the forces that have been trying from the beginning to slow down political detente have stepped up their activities and intend to cast doubt on its achievements and want to bar the path to military detente, while they are creating additional new danger spots in other parts of the world and are subjecting bilateral relations to repeated endurance tests through other steps as well.

Machinations by imperialist circles, NATO's armament policy, U.S. policy steps that place a burden on Soviet-U.S. relations and are also at variance with the Final Act and, by no means least, the Chinese leaders' international activity serving the interests of the enemies of peace--all this slows down the detente process.

Even under such complex circumstances, the socialist countries are doing their best to insure that the principles of peaceful coexistence prevail in international relations. In addition to steps fostering an improvement of bilateral relations, an array of proposals--the latest socialist proposal submitted to the Vienna conference on reducing armed forces, for instance--bear witness to the fact that the socialist countries strive to insure that the spirit and letter of the Helsinki document should become the norm in relations between countries and peoples, and not the steps of the enemies of detente, reminiscent of the cold war times. This is an obligation imposed on us by our national interests, internationalism and the consistent peace policy arising from our socialist principles, it is an obligation imposed on all the signatories by the Helsinki document as well.

CHICAGO MARXIST-LENINIST GROUP CABLES SUPPORT

AU032041Y Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1600 GMT 3 Aug 78 AU

[Text] The reactionary act of the Chinese leadership is revolting to the conscience of every honest man in the world. To support Albania and the AWP means defending socialism and the revolution in the world; it means remaining loyal to Marxism-Leninism.

In its telegram the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Organizational Committee of Chicago, the United States of America, writes, among other things: The People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the AWP, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, have fought day in and day out all their life to defend Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism against the whole imperialist camp and all forms of opportunism.

The recent hostile acts of the Chinese Government and the current CCP leadership are an insult against the entire international proletariat and the progressive people of the world. The Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Organizational Committee and the American proletariat stand alongside the international proletariat to resolutely defend the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the AWP. No attempt intended to intimidate or blackmail Socialist Albania will ever succeed. Such attempts have failed in the past and will certainly fail in the future. Neither the efforts of U.S. imperialism and Soviet socialism, nor the recent acts of the Chinese leadership can deflect Socialist Albania from its historical defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the world revolution and its resolute struggle against the anti-Leninist three worlds theory.

The PRC chose the path of cutting off all aid and payment of civil and military credits to Albania, to recall its specialists and to leave important projects unfinished, just as Khruschev acted in a vile way some years ago. The Chinese leadership embarked on this course, thus infringing Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Chinese people and the progressive peoples of the world will never forgive the Chinese leadership for the course it has embarked on.

The Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Organizational Committee commits itself to double its efforts in defense of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and also to oppose all those who seek to undermine and slander the historical defense which it provides to Marxism-Leninism and the world revolution.

To fight for the world revolution now means to fight for the defense of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. We have no doubt that the revolutionary workers and the oppressed peoples of the world stand alongside Socialist Albania and one day they will (?eliminate) imperialism and all reaction and will resolutely march toward the socialism society and communism.

ATA REPORTS RECEIPT OF MORE STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT

LD031202 [Editorial report LD] Tirana ATA in English at 0922 GMT on 3 August carries a 1,700-word report on international messages and statements of support for and solidarity with the Albanian party and state in the face of the PRC's cessation of aid.

The report begins by citing a message from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist) to the AWP Central Committee condemning "this manifestation of the Chinese three-world great power policy."

ATA then cites a note of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist) which condemns China's "Khrushchevite method" a statement by the Central Committee of the Workers and Peasants Communist Party of Iran condemning the "economic blockade" against Albania which is the same as "that of Khrushchev"; a message from the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) pledging efforts to defend Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; a communique from the France-Albania Friendship Association; a letter from a French builder, who recalls that the Albanian people "hoisted in their time, following the death of our great leader, Stalin, the banner of Marxism-Leninism"; a message from the Mauritius-Albania Friendship Association condemning China's "rapprochement" with U.S. imperialism; and a message from "K.G.A.," a friend of Albania from Ethiopia.

The report concludes:

"As the Vietnamese news agency, VNA reports, the newspaper NHAN DAN considers the decision of the Chinese Government to fully stop its aid for Albania as unreasonable and as an extremely arrogant act.

"The Vietnamese people see with sympathy the firm will of the Albanian people expressed in the announcement of the Albanian Telegraphic Agency, which underlines that the pressures and threats to subjugate the party and the Albanian people have not had and will never have success in Albania and that pressures and blockades cannot suffocate the voice of Socialist Albania."

MINEWORKERS BEGIN OPERATIONS DESPITE PRC AID CESSATION

LD041232Y Tirana ATA in English 0815 GMT 4 Aug 78 LD

[Text] Tirana, August 4, (ATA)--These days, when our working masses are living and working in the sound revolutionary atmosphere aroused by the letter of the Central Committee of the PLA and of the Government of the PSR of Albania to the CC of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government, the working collective of the construction and exploitation of the new mine of Valias, Tirana District, carried into reality the promise it has taken before the party to turn out the first quantities of coal within July. This success is another telling blow to the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement, a revolutionary rebuff to the perfidious and anti-Albanian act of the Chinese Government, a vivid reflection of the unbent spirit of our heroic workers, who know to overcome courageously every difficulty and obstacle.

The collective of this new mine, educated with the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, with firm confidence in the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the PLA, threw itself into offensive with multiplied forces and turned out self-reliantly the first coal of the Albanian brand on July 31, which was sent to the metallurgical combine. The mine was built by our working class, with its persistent work, with sweat and knowledge. It is the deed of our glorious Party of Labour.

The working people of the mine speak indignantly and contemptuously about the hostile act of the Chinese leadership. They say: "The Chinese side did its utmost to neglect and hinder the commissioning of the project and while acting in this way it thought that we would yield. But they were mistaken in their calculations. We set the mine into operation. We will extract the coal from our subsoil in order that our free homeland should become stronger and more powerful."

STANKO TODOROV RECEIVES CUBAN FOREIGN MINISTER

AU032015Y Sofia BTA in ENglish 1845 GMT 3 Aug 78 AU

[Text] Varna, August 3 (BTA)--Bulgaria's premier, Mr Stanko Todorov, received today here Cuba's foreign minister, Mr Isidoro Malmierca. At the conversation, which proceeded in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, they discussed questions of bilateral relations and some questions of the international situation.

Malmierca Interview

AU032016Y Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Aug 78 AU

[Excerpts] Isidoro Malmierca, Cuban minister of foreign relations, has made the following statement to Georgi Sveshtnikov, Sofia Radio correspondent: [Malmierca--begin recording in Spanish fading into Bulgarian translation]

We have spent only a few hours in Varna Okrug but we could sense the fraternal feelings the Bulgarian people have toward Cuba. We could see the development of the tourist industry and some cultural monuments. The meeting we had today with Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, also was of great importance for us. At this meeting we had the opportunity to assess the international situation as well as the relations between Bulgaria and Cuba. We once again established the full identity of views of our countries and governments regarding the international situation as well as regarding the successful development, deepening and expanding of cooperation between Bulgaria and Cuba. This cooperation is developing very successfully on the basis of the close ties between our communist parties and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. We must emphasize that the ties existing between our leaders, Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Fidel Castro, have also greatly contributed to this successful and ascending development. [end recording]

AUSTRIAN CP CHAIRMAN MEETS ZHIVKOV, ENDS VISIT

AU032031Y Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Aug 78 AU

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary, today met Franz Muhri, chairman of the Austrian Communist Party. During the talks the chairman of the Austrian Communist Party highly appraised the BCP Marxist-Leninist policy on successfully building a mature socialism in Bulgaria, on deepening the comprehensive relations with the fraternal countries of the socialist community, on its active and consistent work for strengthening peace, stability and cooperation among the Balkan countries and on strengthening peace in Europe and throughout the world. The two leaders reaffirmed the identical stands of the BCP and the Austrian Communist Party on the state of the present political situation, on the development of international relations and on the problems of the international communist and workers movement. They expressed full support for the consistent, principled and peaceful policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state and highly appraised its contribution to alleviating international tension and strengthening peace and security of the peoples. They declared themselves against the recent NATO decisions aimed at continuing the arms race and at creating further difficulties along the path toward reducing international tension.

Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Franz Muhri expressed satisfaction with the existing fraternal relations between the BCP and the Austrian Communist Party. They reaffirmed the two parties' readiness to further expand and deepen the cooperation between them and to contribute toward strengthening the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Austrian Communist Party Chairman Franz Muhri left the country today. At Sofia airport he was seen off by Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary.

MLADENOV RECEIVES DEPARTING MONGOLIAN ENVOY

AU032027Y Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Aug 78 AU

[Text] Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, today received and gave a luncheon for Dagdalin Bars, Mongolian ambassador to Bulgaria, in connection with the latter's final departure from the country. In this connection, Dagdalin Bars gave a cocktail party at the Grand Hotel Sofia.

IRAQI BULGARIAN COOPERATIVE UNIONS SIGN PROTOCOL

AU031945Y Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 3 Aug 78 AU

[Text] Sofia, August 3 (BTA)--Secretary General of the General Union of Agarian Cooperatives in Iraq, Mr Muqsin Ash-Shalan, is on a current visit here. He had talks with Mr Stoyan Syulemezov, chairman of the Central Cooperative Union in Bulgaria. Discussed were the possibilities for cooperation between the cooperative organizations of the two countries.

It was found with satisfaction that the contacts between them are active. In recent years the number of Iraqi students who attended the training schools for cooperative cadres of the Bulgarian Central Cooperative Union has steadily grown. Many representatives of the Iraqi cooperative unions have attended the School for Cooperative Questions, organized by the Academy for Social Sciences and Management and by the Central Cooperative Union.

The two organizations agreed on expanding their trade exchange in the future, as well as the exchange of delegations, literature and information material on topical questions of cooperative activity.

Today Mr S. Syulemezov and Mr M. ash-Shalan signed a cooperation protocol between the two unions [words indistinct] the (?1978)-1980 period.

NEWSPAPERS WRITE ON ILINDEN UPRISING ANNIVERSARY

AU031702 [Editorial Report AU] Several Bulgarian dailies on 1 August 1978 carry materials devoted to the 75th anniversary of the Ilinden-Transfiguration Day uprising.

NARODNA ARMIYA carries on pages 1 and 2 a 1,100-word report by Stefan Milev on a festive commemoration of the uprising anniversary held at the Sofia Central Club of the People's Army on 31 July 1978 and organized by the Ministry of National Defense and the Main Political Administration of the People's Army. The festive meeting was attended by Col Gen Khristo Dobrev, deputy minister of national defense, by officers and generals of the People's Army and by many soldiers of the Sofia garrison, who came with their families. Patriotic and revolutionary songs were sung and the floor was given to Lt Gen Delcho Simov, deputy chief of the Main Political Adminstration, who opened the meeting with a brief address. He then gave the floor to Col Gen Tencho Papazov who read the main report.

The report emphasized that the Ilinden-Transfiguration Day uprising of 1903 was "the climax of the development of the national revolutionary movement of the Bulgarian population in Macedonia and the Odrin region. As regards its socioeconomic prerequisites, its organizational forms and goals, the liberation struggle of the working masses in the enslaved areas was a continuation of the struggles waged by the Bulgarian people in the sixties and seventies of the 19th century for their national, political and social liberation from the Ottoman yoke."

The speaker further described the activities of the great leaders of the uprising, such as Damyan Gruev and Gotse Delchev, who were inspired by the ideals of the Bulgarian Socialist Party and by its leader, Dimitur Blagoev. In describing the course of the uprising Col Gen Papazov mentions that "in certain places representatives of other nationalities joined the insurrection detachments to fight side by side with the Bulgarians." The speaker, however, does not dwell on the matter of which nationalities were represented. Papazov adds that the Ilinden uprising is a glorious page in the "Bulgarian people's heroic history" and stresses that the "main moving force of the uprising is represented by the Bulgarian peasants and by the Bulgarian working townspeople in Macedonia and in the Odrin area."

The same issue of NARODNA ARMIYA devotes its entire page 4 (about 6,000 words) to material dealing with the Ilinden-Transfiguration Day uprising. This consists mostly of factual reports and documents from the time of the uprising, such as reports by diplomats to their governments, West European newspaper articles, statistical data and biographical notes on uprising leaders. In the biographic notes of the three main leaders of the uprising--Gotse Delchev, Damyan Gruev and Yane Sandanski--it is emphasized that they received their education in Sofia schools and the university. Excerpts from DIE ZEIT, Manchester GUARDIAN, London TIMES and other dailies of the epoch also contain frequent references to "Bulgarian Macedonians" and to "the Bulgarian uprising in Macedonia."

Statistical data quoted from the French daily LE TEMPS indicates that there were 1.2 million Bulgarians, besides smaller numbers of Serbs, Valachians, Turks, Albanians, Jews and "other nationalities" in the territories occupied by the Ottoman empire at the time of the uprising. There are also quotations from a report by the Austrian consul in Bitolya in which he speaks about "Bulgarian uprising," "Bulgarian revolutionary detachments," and about "250,000 Bulgarians living in the area." The page also contains a 1,000-word article by Stefan Shanov entitled: "Nationwide, Patriotic Cause" in which the author extensively dwells on the Bulgarian population's revolutionary exploits during the Ilinden uprising and calls the uprising "a continuation of the great cause of the glorious revolutionaries such as Botev, Levski, Kableshkov and Volov," repeating that the uprising is a bright page in "the Bulgarian people's history."

The Sofia daily OTECHESTVEN FRONT on 1 August 1978 carries on page 4 a 900-word article by Prof Voyn Bozhinov emphasizing the Bulgarian character of the Ilinden uprising and quoting the revolutionary leader Gotse Delchev who stated that "the Bulgarians in Macedonia are bearing the burden of the revolution almost alone on their own shoulders." Describing the ideological background of the Ilinden uprising's leaders, Bozhinov emphasizes their internationalist ideas and their aspirations to "also involve other oppressed nationality groups in the liberation struggle along with the Bulgarians."

Page 4 of the 1 August OTECHESTVEN FRONT also carries biographical notes on the revolutionary leaders Georgi Kondolov and Todor Mitsev describing their exploits.

The Sofia daily ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME carries on page 3 a 1,000-word article by Prof Lyubomir Panayotov which describes the development of the Macedonian-Odrin revolutionary organization and its activities. Panayotov points out that the organization exerted its influence on the "Bulgarian population in Macedonia" and dwells on the ideological character of the movement which, according to the author, was inspired by social democracy. In describing the events of the uprising Panayotov adds that "in certain places the Valachian population also joined the uprising together with the Bulgarians."

The daily TRUD on 1 August 1978 carried on page 3, among the materials on the women's page, a feature story by Anelia Boseva on one of the heroic women of the Ilinden uprising, the teacher Slavka Chakurova.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON HUSAK'S OFFICIAL ACTIVITIES

Receives Outgoing Mongolian Envoy

LD031815Y Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 3 Aug 78 LD

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, in Prague today received Dzandangiyn Enebish, Mongolian ambassador in Czechoslovakia, who is ending his tour of duty in our country. In the course of a friendly and cordial conversation, Comrade Gustav Husak thanked the Mongolian ambassador for his work, which had contributed to the further deepening of friendship and cooperation between the two fraternal parties, states and peoples. He wished the ambassador many successes in his further work.

Meets West Slovak Farmers

LD032015Y Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 Aug 78 LD

[Excerpts] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, in Prague Castle today received a delegation of farmers from the West Slovak region. Present at the reception were: The candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee, Milos Jakes; the candidate member of the party Central Committee and departmental head of the CPCZ Central Committee, Julius Varga; and Czech Minister of Agriculture and Food Josef Nagr.

Ignac Janak, leading secretary of the West Slovak CPSR Regional Committee, informed Gustav Husak about progress in the cereal harvest, and told him that the West Slovak region had fulfilled the state grain procurement plan by 100.1 percent.

Comrade Gustav Husak said he was grateful for the report on experiences and findings developed during harvest and for the fulfillment of the procurement plan. He appreciated the endeavor of West Slovak farmers who, despite the delay caused by slow development of crops, have secured high quality and progress in the harvest, thanks to broad utilization of a coordinated organization of the harvest. Apart from good preparations and organization, harvest in the West Slovak region had especially benefited from the selflessness and initiative of those who work responsibly to secure food for the people. The results achieved illustrate the ever higher standards of cereal growing in the West Slovak region, which is in many ways an example for other parts of our country.

Comrade Husak also praised West Slovak farmers for fulfilling their tasks in the area of livestock, too. In the West Slovak region, the harvest is entering its final stages, but in the greater part of the state's territory the peak of the harvest is still ahead of us, Comrade Husak noted. On the state level, it has been possible to achieve a good yield on the whole. Conditions have been created for fulfillment of the planned harvest of basic cereals. It is, therefore, all the more important that we harvest them well, on time and without losses. The delay in harvest will have to be overcome by a high standard of organization of work, an intensive utilization of machinery, a flexible approach, and an operative response to existing situations.

Our farmers now have enough experience, as well as the necessary harvest technology to cope successfully with harvest work under such conditions as are extant this year. In our socialist state, the harvest is an important all-social task, a genuinely national event.

This year in particular, the help of sponsoring enterprises, national committees and social organizations of the National Front will be of exceptional importance. For successful progress of the harvest, party, state and social bodies on all levels must pay the utmost attention. It will also be necessary to see that harvested cereals are utilized most effectively.

Experiences of past years have not always been optimal. Thus, it is all the more necessary to utilize cereals well right from the beginning, especially in livestock production. Comrade Husak stressed that the positive results achieved in agriculture in the West Slovak region, and within the whole state, are connected with the general positive political situation in our country, with the help our working people give to the policy of the CPCZ, and with the work initiative which stems from this support.

Just as in agriculture, tasks in other spheres are, on the whole, being fulfilled although, naturally, it is necessary to overcome certain shortcomings and hurdles. The prevailing atmosphere in our country is one of calm and creative work, and concentration on construction tasks. The unity of our people, expressed through their support for the policy of the CPCZ, and the initiative and energy used by the working people to implement the program of the 15th party congress, is a guarantee of further successful development of our socialist society, Comrade Gustav Husak said.

MORE ON VISIT OF SRI LANKA FOREIGN MINISTER

Received by Strougal

LD031546Y Prague CTK in English 1518 GMT 3 Aug 78 LD

[Text] Prague, Aug 3, CETEKA--Czechoslovak Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received here today Sri Lanka Foreign Minister Abdul Sahul Hameed.

The two representatives expressed interest in the development of relations between Sri Lanka and Czechoslovakia and said that talks and exchange of views on questions concerning the political, economic and cultural sphere were held in this spirit.

They paid attention to expanding economic cooperation between the two countries and increasing the volume of mutual trade exchange.

The two representatives agreed that favourable conditions exist for Czechoslovakia's participation in the development of Sri Lanka power engineering, agriculture, processing industry and education of cadres.

Communique Issued With Chnoupek

LD031740Y Prague CTK in English 1522 GMT 3 Aug 78 LD

[Text] Prague, Aug 3, CETEKA--Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek of Czechoslovakia and Abdul Sahul Hameed of Sri Lanka confirmed the willingness of their countries to promote cooperation in all spheres, says a joint communique released here today. The two foreign ministers discussed, during Abdul Sahul Hameed's official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia on August 1-3, the present situation in Czechoslovak-Sri Lanka relations which are based on the principles of traditional friendship, equality and mutual advantage, and topical international issues, on which the two countries have identical views.

The talks were marked by a cordial [word indistinct] atmosphere and the visit has made a great contribution to the deepening of relations between Czechoslovakia and Sri Lanka.

Minister Hameed has invited his Czechoslovak colleague Bohuslav Chnoupek to visit Sri Lanka. The invitation was accepted with pleasure, the communique says.

Comments on Visit

LD031226Y Prague CTK in English 1135 GMT 3 Aug 78 LD

[Text] Prague, Aug 3, CETEKA--"My visit to Czechoslovakia was very rich, my talks with Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal and Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek were useful and constructive. I am sure that their result will be beneficial for both countries," Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka Abdul Cadera Sahul Hameed told CETEKA before departure this morning.

He underlined that the aim of his visit was to strengthen the good relations which exist between Sri Lanka and Czechoslovakia. "My visit provided an opportunity to discuss various issues, but the accent was laid on the possibility of expanding economic cooperation. We have found that a wide area of new possibilities has been opened", the Sri Lanka foreign minister said.

He also spoke about the non-aligned movement which has emerged stronger from the Belgrade conference, although there were expectations from various quarters that the conference, or the movement itself would break up.

"The most important factor of the Belgrade meeting is that the non-aligned movement will go on," Minister Hameed said.

He pointed out that the non-aligned movement has been concerned with the issue of peace and disarmament since its establishment.

"One of its first calls in 1961 was made for disarmament. After 17 years, we were able to have a special session on disarmament in New York. We consider this conference to be an important step in the development leading to complete and general disarmament in the world," the minister underlined.

Leaves for Romania

LD031544Y Prague CTK in English 1514 GMT 3 Aug 78 LD

[Excerpt] Prague, Aug 3, CETEKA--Sri Lanka Foreign Minister Abdul Sahul Hameed ended his official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia and left here for Bucharest today.

FOREIGN MINISTER RECEIVES SOVIET CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

LD031712Y Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 3 Aug 78 LD

[Text] Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, met in Prague today with Viktor Beletskiy, charge d'affaires of the USSR in Czechoslovakia. They discussed topical questions of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation and international relations.

CUBAN FOREIGN MINISTER TO ARRIVE IN PRAGUE 4 AUG

LD0321507 Prague CTK in English 2110 GMT 3 Aug 78 LD

[Excerpt] Prague, Aug 3, CETEKA--Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli will arrive here tomorrow on an official visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek.

COMMENTARY ON WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL IN HAVANA

AU031247Y Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Aug 78 pp 1, 7 AU

[Lubos Kriz Havana dispatch: "The Festival and the Problems in the World"]

[Excerpts] Scarcely anyone in the world can afford to ignore youth and the festivals of the student world. And those who do are harming their own international position, depriving themselves of both the opportunity to develop cooperation and friendship and the opportunity for assuming a stand on serious problems. This does not apply to youth organizations alone. The largest youth rally in the world is an arena wherein the world's most important problems are being discussed. That is why many important political figures, who are guests of the festival, have not hesitated to initiate the young generation into the policies they espouse. They have appealed to the representatives of more than 20,000 youth organizations to express their position on the most urgent problems of our world.

True, apart from a few countries which did not send delegations to Havana, the flags of certain countries were missing at the festive parade in the Latin American stadium, even though delegations from youth organizations of these countries attended. This applies, for instance, to the Swiss and U.S. delegations. But this does not mean that these countries are ignoring the festival in Cuba. On the contrary, for there are, for instance, a great many accredited journalists from the United States at the festival, and even the ABC company has come here with a large television staff. Of course, the question is, how will they approach their reports of the festival. But reality cannot be distorted--world interest in anti-imperialist solidarity, in peace and friendship, is enormous.

Several outstanding personalities are present in Havana, coming from places in the world where there is still no peace, where oppression, discrimination and exploitation still exist. Here, in festival-time Havana, it is possible to speak the truth and to speak it in such a way that it resounds clearly and convincingly, without distortion or concealment. It will not be long before the young generation, representing its peoples in Havana today, reaches an age when it is able to hold responsible leading positions. But of course, as far as the problems which are experienced by today's world are concerned, Havana can give the young generation the strength to prevent the repetition of these problems, and to make the world a better place.

TRIBUNAL IN HAVANA JUDGES CIA ANGOLAN ACTIVITY

AU0319027 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Aug 78 pp 1, 7 AU

[Lubos Kriz Havana dispatch: "The Accused Will Not Come Forward; the Accused Is Imperialism"]

[Excerpts] The second witness was Gustavo Manuel Grille, an Argentinian with American citizenship and an interesting military past. [paragraph continues]

First, he fought for 3 years in Vietnam, and then joined the mercenaries whose task it was to help "liberate" Angola.

"I joined the mercenaries on the basis of the recruitment drive I had heard on television channel No 7 in California. In our country, even people not afraid of dying in a war are being sought by attractive advertisements. I was put into the intercontinental detachment. Many CIA agents were working there, and I am convinced that Holden Robert, head of the counterrevolutionary organization, was the main CIA resident agent."

Manuel Ruy Alves Monteira, the Angolan prosecutor, was able to analyze the CIA's activities in Angola from the time of the first liberation war. The CIA's main task, at first, was to support the colonial fascist Portuguese government. Later it was necessary to expand the agents' influence to include the liberation movement, so that they could weaken its ranks. And in the end, the CIA decided to directly organize the military operation against the Angolan people. Apart from leading the FNIA [the National Front for the Liberation of Angola], the CIA financed deliveries of military technlogy and trained the reactionary forces.

"In May 1974, a total of 112 Chinese military advisers came to Holden Robert's assistance, and in September he received at least 450 tons of Chinese military equipment. One year later, the CIA delivered $300,000 to him for operations against Angola. Later the U.S. Government itself confirmed that it had allocated $14 million for the support of counter-revolutionary forces."

The Angolan prosecutor sees no reason for not publicizing all the facts, which demonstrate the sabotages, murders and provocation the Angolan people have had to endure. The festival [in Havana] is a place where the whole truth must be told.

The court inspected the weapons that had been used by the South African paratroopers and mercenaries who were taken prisoner by the Zaire Army. The weapons are of American, Belgian, British, West German, South African and Chinese origin. The hands of young Chinese proletarians had produced weapons for mercenaries paid by the CIA...

1968 EVENTS, CURRENT SOCIALIST CONDITIONS REVIEWED

LD031922Y Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 3 Aug 78 LD

[Text] Today's RUDE PRAVO carries an extensive article entitled: For Unity and Socialism. It stresses that the support, defense and consolidation of socialist achievements attained by the peoples, thanks to their heroic efforts and to the devoted work of the people in every socialist country, are the joint internationalist duty of all socialist countries. These principles, tried and tested by the long process of building the world socialist system were stressed with urgent emphasis, 10 years ago, in the joint declaration of six fraternal parties: the BCP, the CPCZ, the SED, the MSZMP, the PZPR and the CPSU.

The representatives of these parties met in Bratislava on 3 August 1968 to review topical questions pertaining to the struggle for socialism and the further consolidation of the socialist community. The consultation took place in a complicated international situation of growing subversive activities by imperialist forces, whose interest this time was concentrated primarily on Czechoslovakia. A counterrevolutionary offensive was at that time being stepped up in our socialist country, RUDE PRAVO writes, and continues: It was a situation which aroused the profound concern of every sincere communist and progressive citizen for the destiny of socialism in our country. [paragraph continues]

Many communists, several members of the leadership and wide sections of rank-and-file members of the party, members of other political parties as well as those with no party affiliation, all saw the increasing possibility of a counterrevolutionary coup. They warned against it.

Our allies, too, followed attempts by international reaction to tear our country away from the socialist community with similar concern. They had expressed this concern earlier at several bilateral and multilateral meetings in Dresden, Sofia, Moscow, Warsaw and at Cierna Nad Tisou. By the most varied channels and at various levels they patiently tried to help the Czechoslovak representatives to find a way out and to halt the onslaught of counterrevolution, while there was still time.

RUDE PRAVO recalls that shortly before the Bratislava consultation the CPSU Central Committee Politburo met the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium at the Czechoslovak-Soviet border. In the talks, the leadership of the CPSU appealed to the leadership of the CPCZ to realize its communist internationalist responsibility and to take the initiative with imperative and decisive measures against the counterrevolutionary forces.

As the meeting itself showed and later developments bore out, the attitudes of individual members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium to the situation in the country differed on matters of principle. The rightwing opportunists went to the meeting with the Soviet comrades not with honest intentions but with the determination to disappoint our allies once again. They again declared that they would take immediate steps against antisocialist forces, but in actual fact this was merely a hypocritical pretense, RUDE PRAVO notes.

The multilateral consultations in Bratislava marked the culmination of patient collective efforts by the fraternal parties to point out how the Czechoslovak people, by mobilizing their own forces, could prevent a counterrevolutionary putsch and mass bloodshed in time. The Bratislava declaration stressed that loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, invincible solidarity, exceptional vigilance against all endeavors of imperialism and all other anticommunist forces and education of the mass of the people in a spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, an irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois ideology and all antisocialist forces together constituted the necessary condition for success in consolidating the positions of socialism and opposing imperialist attacks.

The fraternal parties, including the representatives of our party--some sincere, others hypocritical--declared that they would never allow anyone to drive a wedge between the socialist countries or to undermine the foundations of the socialist system, and that the defense of socialist achievements was the joint internationalist duty of all socialist countries. Furthermore, they stated their firm determination to do everything to intensify the all-round cooperation among their countries on the basis of principles of equality, the preservation of sovereignty and national independence, territorial integrity, fraternal cooperation and solidarity. They displayed unflinching determination to promote and defend socialist achievements in their countries, and to attain fresh successes in building socialism.

RUDE PRAVO notes that the results of the Bratislava consultations became a further promise for the days to come. It was a success for all the participants, an example of good will, sincere friendship and great concern for the fate of our country and its people, and at the same time, it indicated the determination of the socialist countries to act in solidarity and in a coordinated manner, both in building a new society and in defending its achievements.

The fact that, for certain members of the Czechoslovak leadership at that time, the Bratislava declaration became nothing but a scrap of paper, that they took no measures in their political practices, that, as the document lessons stress, they hypocritically betrayed the principles of the joint commitment, changes nothing in terms of the significance of these conclusions. Nevertheless, the conclusions of the collective Bratislava consultations and their significance for the present and the future can be appraised as an important historic event in the life of our society, the entire socialist community and the whole international communist movement, which duly valued them very highly in statements issued by individual parties, RUDE PRAVO writes.

It continues: Our party considers the declaration of the Bratislava consultation not merely valid but constantly topical. It corresponded especially to the interests of our people, to the cause of unbreakable friendship among the people of the socialist countries, to the interests of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. In any case, the time which has elapsed since the historic meeting has tested and confirmed the principles enshrined in the Bratislava declaration. Through the Czechoslovak example, international reaction has once again seen that the socialist countries will genuinely never permit anyone to drive a wedge between them, that they will not permit counterrevolutionary forces to undermine the foundations of socialism, that, despite constant and often extremely dangerous attacks, imperialism cannot crush the positions of existing socialism by force or by tricks, and that it will not succeed in tearing a socialist country away from the family of the socialist community.

The international aid of the socialist states given to the Czechoslovak people in August 1968, in the greatest emergency, halted the further progress of counterrevolution in our country, prevented its bloody phase and created favorable conditions for a political and ideological differentiation in the party and in society, for unification and activization of Marxist-Leninist forces, and for the purging of opportunists from the party.

After April 1969, our communist party and socialist society found sufficient strength to overcome the effects of the crisis, in a spirit of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and to continue the successful development of building socialism.

As RUDE PRAVO points out: Socialist Czechoslovakia is a prosperous state today, a firm link in the world socialist community. This is the result of the all-round devotion to work shown by our people, of the far-sighted policy of our party, which expresses the innate interests of our society. A further source of these successes is international solidarity, including our close cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries.

In this connection, Comrade Gustav Husak said at the 15th CPCZ Congress: One of the decisive sources of the successes we have attained is our membership in the socialist community. Together, we are solving many tasks and problems; we share our experiences and thus we multiply our strength. RUDE PRAVO recalls that in the past 10 years we have witnessed many joyful events in the life of our socialist community. In 1968, the signatories of the Bratislava declaration still mentioned the bloody war in Vietnam, and at that time, they once again confirmed their determination to offer essential aid to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against the U.S. interventionists. Since then, the Vietnamese people have driven the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen from their territory and have reunified the country. This fiasco was the results of the greatest imperialist attempt since World War II to settle accounts with a socialist country by use of armed force. This victory of the Vietnamese people will rightly and permamently go down in the world's history of struggles for human rights and for freedom.

The socialist countries are proud that they offered effective, coordinated aid to their Vietnamese brothers, that they helped the Vietnamese people and party, who had made immense sacrifices, to rebuke the counterrevolutionary designs of imperialism and to protect socialist achievements in this part of the world. They acted in the spirit of one of the fundamental principles, in the spirit of the joint international duty of socialist countries. Even today, when Socialist Vietnam is forced to stand against provocative actions taken by China, the socialist countries express their firm solidarity with it.

Another significant result of the coordinated endeavors undertaken by the socialist countries in Europe over the past 10 years is the universal recognition of the sovereignty of the GDR, its admission to the United Nations and the confirmation of its western border. The FRG finally had to recognize the nullity of the shameful Munich diktat, and it recognized the western border of the Polish People's Republic. At the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe, the appeal for which was launched by the socialist countries in 1966, the significant results of the antifascist struggles of the peoples during World War II and of post-war developments were anchored in the Final Act. Thus, conditions for lasting peace in Europe, for lasting peaceful coexistence and cooperation among all peoples on our continent were created.

RUDE PRAVO points out that in the past 10 years socialism has been further consolidated in Cuba; it has attained fresh successes in other socialist countries; another fully fledged member was added to the world map of socialism, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, whose people, after chasing out the lackeys of U.S. imperialism, set out to build the foundations of socialism.

The influence of the socialist community on world events is constantly growing. The socialist community has become the major force in the anti-imperialist struggle. The nations which have liberated themselves or are liberating themselves from the shackles of imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism see in the socialist countries not some kind of hostile bloc, as some people are trying to tell them but, on the contrary, their natural and sincere ally. They are finding, on the basis of their own experience, that wherever they have to put up political, economic or even military resistance to the plans of every type of aggressor, where they have to stand up to imperialist blockades and discrimination, they can rely in their just endeavors on not any moral support but on the specific assistance of the socialist countries.

The history of many peoples provides telling evidence of this: Indochina, the Arab world and many peoples in Asia and Africa--for example, Angola, Ethiopia and other countries.

It was the October Revolution, and the emergence of the socialist community after World War II which decisively influenced the balance of forces in the world, changing it in favor of socialism, RUDE PRAVO notes.

The paper goes on to say: People in the nonsocialist world have become increasingly aware that the very existence and example of the world socialist community have enabled the present unprecedented upsurge of the anti-imperialist struggle, the downfall of colonialism, the unparalleled expansion of the national liberation movements. New states which have emerged on the ruins of the colonial system can now freely seek progressive and independent paths of development. Even today the socialist countries, just as the international working class and national liberation movements, must actively stand up to the common enemy: World imperialism, its attempts at new hegemony, at new world domination, at interference in the internal affairs of other countries. This enemy has in no way changed its aggressive character since the time of the October Revolution. That is why, in the postwar years, it created NATO and other military pacts as a new material base for war preparations, provocations and intrigues against the socialist countries and national liberation revolutions. [paragraph continues]

Today, it once again engages in a feverish arms race; it tries to throw the world back into the days of the cold war. RUDE PRAVO notes that the imperialist Maoist bloc today constitutes a serious threat to world peace.

The RUDE PRAVO article stresses that the policy of the present Chinese leaders is in deep contradiction with the principles on which the PRC was founded; it is in contradiction with the most vital interests of the Chinese people themselves. The present positions of Peking have virtually merged with the positions of the most extreme reaction, ranging from the adversaries of the process of detente sitting on the NATO staffs to the racists in southern Africa and the fascist regime in Chile. The policy of the Maoists is not only entirely alien to the interests of the world revolutionary movement, as is demonstrated by the outrageous provocations against the Vietnamese Socialist Republic, but it is essentially becoming a reserve of imperialism in its intention to stifle world social progress. That is why the socialist countries are attaching systematically growing importance to the principle stressed in the Bratislava declaration 10 years ago: the principle of harmonizing and coordinating their activities in the international arena. This is an effort to even further expand effective cooperation on the question of consolidating peace in Europe and the world. The efficacy of such a procedure has been amply proven by history, RUDE PRAVO stresses.

The socialist community represents a fraternal family of equal, sovereign and independent states, led by Marxist-Leninist parties, and united by common objectives, interests and relations of comradely solidarity. They help each other in all spheres of life, in construction and in defense, in peaceful as well as in troubled times. Their efforts to increase their socialist achievements logically multiplies the strength of the entire community. The strength of the community is, of course, the strength of each individual country.

RUDE PRAVO stresses that efforts to achieve close cohesion of the socialist countries is one of the natural laws of internal development of the community and a logical reply to imperialist displays of military force. Peace-loving peoples can initially thank the socialist countries and their joint action and defense alliance, the Warsaw Pact, for the fact that the warmongers in NATO have not been able to carry out their threats of war.

In the sphere of cooperation, the socialist countries have made clear progress in past decades, RUDE PRAVO writes. In particular, the economies in CEMA have reached an especially new and advanced degree, specifically, after acceptance of the long-term program of socialist economic integration. Political contacts are being deepened, mutual exchanges of experience accumulated in socialist building are being widened, direct contacts between state and social organizations and work teams are being expanded. Ideological and other forms of cooperation, too, are being intensively widened. Our party, like the other fraternal parties, is devoting consistent attention to the future promotion of cooperation among the socialist countries. Each of them creatively solves questions pertaining to further socialist development. They react sensitively to the requirements of the times, to the overall interests of the socialist community. They are guided by the common laws governing the building of a socialist society and they take account of national pecularities and conditions.

Actively, purposefully, in a spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalist responsibility, the fraternal parties are working toward consolidating and promoting the major and fundamental trend of world socialism--the trend toward unity and cohesion. Unity and cohesion of the socialist countries provide the decisive guarantee for their joint successes and the source of their common strength in the face of all imperialist maneuvers, today's RUDE PRAVO stresses in conclusion of its extensive article: For Unity and Socialism.

REASONS FOR COSTANZA RESIGNATION CONSIDERED

DW031658Y East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1505 GMT 3 Aug 78 DW

[Dr Knut Henssler commentary]

[Text] The resignation of Margaret Costanza made headlines in the U.S. press today, and a White House statement indicated that this step was no great surprise. Yet, this case is much more interesting than may be assumed at first glance. It touches on fundamental principles of U.S. Government policy and enables us to draw conclusions on current moods and differences in the White House.

Ms Costanza reportedly had difficulties with her immediate boss, who is in fact the President. Her relations with Carter are said to have steadily deteriorated, for--and this is the reason--she defended with undiminished vehemence, which sometimes alarmed the White House, the cause of discriminated sections of the population in the United States. Strictly speaking, Margaret Costanza should have been able to rely on administration support in her activities, for preserving human rights is known to be a frequently declared goal of U.S. Government policy.

But, as past and present have shown, on this issue the White House demonstrates contradictory and two-faced behavior. Human rights are playing a very small part within U.S. borders; only where there are possibilities for interference in other countries' affairs are they valuable to the leading politicians of the present government. This may also be the true reason for the resignation of the presidential aide, who obviously has not been willing to play this internal game. Naturally, Ms Costanza is aware of the obvious contradiction between the human rights appeals made by her boss and the situation existing for women in the United States, for example. She knows, of course, that constitutional equality for women has been blocked by conservative forces for years, and has been stranded in the mechanism of bourgeois legislation, causing the kind of social securities that we have to be nonexistent there.

It was at this point that the work of the Presidential aide began, it was this that she felt to be her field of activity, probably trying to influence government policy in the hope of eliminating this discrimination. But such advice was obviously uncalled for.

Actually, her resignation also illustrates the mood of a portion of those individuals serving in the White House. Ms Costanza is the third politician within a short time to criticize decisions of the President. Earlier, UN Ambassador Andrew Young and Commerce Secretary Juanita Kreps expressed doubts regarding the present course taken by the administration. All these statements indicate that the criticism voiced on certain aspects of White House government policy, especially in the area of human rights issues, does not even stop within the closest proximity to the President. Though such moods should certainly not be overrated, they do signal a phase of internal differences within the Washington administration.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ESTABLISHED WITH SURINAM

LD031440Y East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1308 GMT 3 Aug 78 LD

[Text] Berlin--Following talks by their authorized representatives in Brasilia, the Government of the GDR and the Government of the Republic of Surinam agreed to establish diplomatic relations as of 3 August 1978. They are based on the principles embodied in the UN Charter, as well as on the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 18 April 1961.

TRYBUNA LUDU COMMENTS ON U.S. LIFTING TURKISH ARMS BAN

LD040555Y Warsaw PAP in English 0525 GMT 4 Aug 78 LD

[From the press review: TRYBUNA LUDU on Lifting of Arms Embargo Against Turkey]

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Aug, PAP--In a commentary entitled "After Lifting the Embargo: In the Shadow of NATO Interests" TRYBUNA LUDU writes, among other things:

Turkey is particularly important for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Its geographic location, neighborhood with Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, proximity to Arab Middle Eastern countries and to the southeast coast of the Mediterranean Sea makes possible invigilation [as rec ived] and spying of those crucial areas.

Atlantic strategists have been worrying over the weakening of NATO's southern flank and worsening of relations with Ankara resulting from the ban on arms sales. It is beyond doubt that the decision to lift the ban was taken under pressure of military circles in the U.S. and other Western countries which had recently intensified their attacks on detente. It seems that lifting the ban does not augur a quick settlement of the Cyprus crisis. The issue of liquidating this conflict was moved onto a further plane, suppressed by NATO's military and political interests.

JAGIELSKI MEETS WITH SOVIET DEPUTY PREMIER KIRILLIN

LD040601Y Warsaw PAP in English 0515 GMT 4 Aug 78 LD

[Text] Moscow, 3 Aug, PAP--Member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau, Vice Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski, now on a visit to Moscow, today met Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, head of the State Committee for Science and Technology Vladimir Kirillin.

In the course of a friendly talk, the two men discussed questions connected with the further development of scientific and technological cooperation between Poland and the USSR.

BABIUCH RECEIVES NEW TURKISH AMBASSADOR

LD031845Y Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Aug 78 LD

[Text] Edward Babiuch, deputy chairman of the State Council, has received at an audience in Belweder Palace Ilhan Yasar, the Turkish ambassador, who presented his letters of accreditation. The audience was attended by Henryk Szafranski, member of the State Council, and Jozef Czyrek, who is in charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Having presented his letters, Ambassador Yasar was received by Edward Babiuch at a private audience.

JABLONSKI REVIEWS HARVEST, FARM MACHINERY INDUSTRY IN PLOCK

LD032020Y Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Aug 78 LD

[Text] Henryk Jablonski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of State, visited Plock Voivodship today. He was briefed on the main problems of the socioeconomic development of the region, progress with the harvest, and the tasks of industrial plants working for agriculture.

Henryk Jablonski started his visit with a meeting with the administrators of Kutno, and then visited the local metallurgy plant--one of the most modern of its kind in Europe, a fully automatic foundry for grey cast and steroidal iron [zeliwo szare i steroidalne]. The works is to produce 38,000 tons this year, mainly for the domestic industry, agricultural machines, and for export.

The chairman of the Council of State also visited the Agroma central store of spare parts in Kutno which supplies the whole of Polish agriculture with spare parts for machines made in Poland. Henryk Jablonski also visited the experimental farm for cultivation and acclimatization of plants at Strzeloe near Kutno. He acquainted himself with the achievements of this farm engaged in research in acclimatizing new varieties of high yielding cereals. The work of the institution is focused at present on new varieties of wheat, barley, oats, lupin and rape.

KOWALIK EXPLAINS STEPS TAKEN TO IMPROVE MEAT SHORTAGE

LD032315Y Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 3 Aug 78 LD

[Text] PAP reports on an interview with Adam Kowalik, minister of domestic trade and services, in which he deals with the current and future market situation. Referring to food market problems, the minister admitted that there was a shortfall of some 340,000 tons in meeting current requirements for meat and meat products. To improve the situation, he said his ministry is taking measures aimed at rationing and facilitating buying and at counteracting speculation and abuses.

The measures included, Minister Kowalik said, the setting up of a network of fresh and cooked meat shops specializing in selling high-quality, weighed and prepackaged meats and meat products. At the same time, prices for these foods have been uniformly set at a level appropriately higher than that in effect in other retail trade outlets. The success of this sales system would depend on the regularity and continuity of supplies and also on whether the industry succeeds in markedly improving the kinds of meat products offered.

TRYBUNA LUDU COMMENTS ON CSCE ANNIVERSARY

AU0314457Y Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Aug 78 pp 7, 3 AU

[Prof Dr Hab Marian Dobrosielski article: "The Third Anniversary of the Helsinki Summit--Dialectics of Detente"]

[Excerpts] What is actually the essence of the human rights campaign? It is worth recalling that since the very beginning of the United Nations the socialist countries, including Poland, have been among the states working for various declarations, resolutions, covenants and other documents concerning human rights. It is also worth recalling that even during the diplomatic preparatory talks for the CSCE (in 1972-73) it was agreed to include in the Final Act the principles of respect for human rights and that during the Geneva negotiation phase (1973-75) the controversies did not concern the very principle of human rights, but the issue of how to endow it with full and specific contents.

To the wonder of some people, but perhaps in keeping with the historical truth, the U.S. delegation played a rather passive, if not negative, role in the negotiations concerning the substance of this principle. It did not propose any constructive elements, it sought to restrict the principle to political and civil rights, and it was after long negotiations and stubborn resistance that it agreed that the economic, social and cultural rights proposed by Poland and the other socialist countries should be included.

It put up even more resistance to the socialist states' proposals that the principle of human rights should include the pledges resulting from the international covenants on human rights and it weakened these proposals by various reservations. Incidentally, the United States has still not ratified these covenants (adopted by the United Nations in 1966).

Principle seven concerning respect for human rights--the socialist delegations actively and constructively participated in drawing up this principle, which is one of the 10 principles of the five chapters of the Final Act--is far more concisely formulated (one page of about 100 Final Act pages) than it was in the aforementioned covenants and other international documents. Nor has the problem of human rights played any major role in postwar interstate relations in Europe; and suddenly we are witnessing a strange phenomenon. During and after the U.S. Presidential elections in 1976 the most conservative and reactionary U.S. and Western European groups most adamantly opposing the CSCE groups, and insisting that the CSCE was favorable only to the socialist countries and claiming the Final Act was selling Western interests down the river, have suddenly "discovered" and announced to the world that human rights, conceived of course, in a restricted and one-sided way--one that takes into consideration only the formal political rights and civil freedoms--are the essence of the Final Act and the entire process of detente.

These groups, which in their own countries determinedly oppose the extension of the basic social, economic and cultural rights to millions and millions of their countrymen, have suddenly become defenders of human rights in the socialist countries.

It should be clearly stated at this point that some of the sponsors of this campaign are not and never have been motivated by a concern for human rights in the socialist countries, but are concerned about something quite different: They wish to sanction their interference in our countries' internal affairs and obtain a peculiar [swoista] legalization of their support for dissidents and the small opposition groups.

It goes without saying that it is impossible to agree with this interpretation of principle seven and with the Final Act. This is because this principle and all the other principles must not be viewed in a dissociated, selective and narrow way. They must be viewed as a whole and within the context of the entire declaration of the principles and of the entire Final Act.

We are most profoundly convinced that the right to live, in peace and security, is the most elementary right of man and the nations. The implementation of this right is of superior character because it is the prerequisite to enjoying all other rights, civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural. This is why we are of the opinion that those really in favor of human rights must above all be for the policy of peace, for disarmament, international security and cooperation. Experience has demonstrated that the policy of detente has expanded the area of human rights for millions and millions of people all over Europe. Among other things, this policy has seen the overthrow of fascism in Greece and Portugal and the beginnings of democracy in Spain.

For a long time now a sharp struggle around the problems of detente and relations with the USSR has been going on inside the United States. At present, the initiative and advantage in this struggle are being held by the groups seeking to torpedo detente, to promote confrontation in various regions of the world and in various spheres and to boost the arms race. This is being attested to not only by the frequent statements made by representatives of the U.S. administration--these statements are often internally contradictory--but also by specific activities undermining the good development of relations with the USSR and of East-West relations and undermining the policy of detente.

The U.S. politicians tend to emphasize rivalry and confrontation and to restrict and curb the areas of cooperation. They tend to return to the policy of strength and to use threats in order to demonstrate endurance and courage and to gain popularity at any price.

President Carter's recent statement in West Berlin concerning NATO's commitment to the unification of Germany has particularly disturbed Poland and probably all of Europe. For several years now, aside from the FRG, no responsible statesman has raised this subject, which during the postwar period has for too long poisoned Europe's political atmosphere and which has finally been solved by history, by the existence and general recognition of the two German states, by the treaties between the socialist states with the FRG and by the CSCE. Unfortunately, the U.S. President's statement has already caused a surge of revisionist and chauvinist tendencies in the FRG.

The U.S. President said, among other things, that he counted on the unification of Germany "in our prayers and our constant hopes," but what we--and in our conviction all of Europe--are counting on is that these hopes will remain merely "wishful thinking" and will not materialize into specific actions. We call "wishful thinking" actions that, as the wise Austrian M. Ebner-Eschenbach said at one time, never materialize.

What we count on is that commensense, realism, the well-conceived interests of the United States and East-West relations and the interests of all mankind will emerge victorious from this struggle and from the vacillations attending detente and relations with the USSR. Nothing is more important in international relations than maintaining and consolidating peace, halting and curbing the arms race, and promoting disarmament and mutually advantageous and comprehensive cooperation. Maintaining, consolidating, expanding and intensifying the process of detente is the means to achieve this goal.

Detente is not a state that can be achieved and fixed once and for all. It is not an aim in itself. It is a means leading to peace, disarmament and peaceful coexistence; that is, it is a means and a goal at the same time. Detente is a dynamic, complex, manifold and multidimensional process, which is not developing along straight lines without ups and downs. This is because it is determined by a tangle of various, often contradictory, objective factors, by the impact of positive and negative elements on the development of the international situation and by the contradictions and conflicts in some areas and the community of interests and the need for cooperation in other areas.

As you see, this process, which affects political, military, economic and other spheres, involves elements of cooperation and competition as well as negotiation and confrontation. It should not be viewed in isolation. but in mutual, comprehensive and dialectic interdependence. This is why promoting the alternative of either cooperation or confrontation is at the very least a great, unrealistic simplification.

This is because the aim of detente is the development of international relations in such a way that the elements of cooperation, negotiations and what is common and unifying should gain the upper hand over the elements of confrontation, rivalry and division leading to conflicts and tensions. In a word, the aim of detente is to assure that international relations are in fact based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and on the principles of the CSCE Final Act.

CEAUSESCU SPEECH ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS REPORTED

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[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at a meeting with the party-state aktiv on 3 August, in Bucharest--live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, in connection with the development of international life and the rapid changes that are occurring on the world plane, a number of party-state aktivists have asked the party leadership lately to explain Romania's position on these new events and realities in more detail, to interpret them in the spirit of the general guidelines of the 11th congress and the national conference [of the RCP] and to define the current and future course of action of the RCP and the Socialist Republic of Romania to increase the contribution to the cause of socialism, peace and international cooperation. In response to these requests, we in the Executive Political Committee thought it would be useful to organize this meeting with the central party-state aktiv in order to review the new international events and to present Romania's stand on these events, thus arming the party-state cadres, party members and all citizens with a better understanding of them so they will be able to guide themselves and act in keeping with our revolutionary concept and with our party-state foreign policy, which fully accords with our nation's aspirations and with the cause of socialism and peace. [applause]

As I have stated on other occasions, we have recently witnessed a sharpening of contradictions in international life and the intensification of trends toward redistributing spheres of influence and strengthening domination in various parts of the world. One can say that these contradictions and trends are closely connected with the economic, monetary and energy crisis, which has created a difficult situation in a number of states, and with the fact that the attempts to come out of this crisis have not yet yielded the expected results.

The recent meeting in the FRG of the Common Market countries, the United States and Japan tried to overcome certain contradictions among these countries and find a way to overcome the crisis. As the Western press commentaries show, although it has been asserted that certain agreements were reached, the meeting could not find the ways and means of eliminating the consequences of the crisis, which are being felt quite strongly in these countries as well as in other countries, and which have also had an impact on the socialist countries.

This is because the numerous economic contradictions among the developed capitalist countries are particularly strong, because each of these countries acts to strengthen its own dominant positions in various parts of the world and, within the framework of cooperation, each of them tries to obtain as many advantages as possible. One can say that we are currently witnessing two main trends in the policy of domination and redistribution of the spheres of influence: The trend to resort to force and military ways and means in order to promote dominating interests and obtain or consolidate spheres of influence, on the one hand, and the trend of using economic means, under various forms, in order to strengthen the domination of monopolies and multinational companies and consolidate the influence of certain states in various parts of the world, on the other. In actual practice, both ways are actively being used.

There is no doubt that the use of force and military means in order to promote the policy of domination is the more dangerous for the peoples and their peace and independence. At the same time one cannot say that the other way of using economic means does not represent a danger for the independence of peoples; however, we objectively assess that the use of force and military ways and means today represents the main danger for international life.

As opposed to the trends for redividing the spheres of influence and domination, a new policy of interstate cooperation is increasingly asserting itself.

This cooperation is based on full equality of rights, the principles of national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, and is the only way to insure the democratic evolution of the world political life, relations of friendship and cooperation among all nations and the strengthening of overall security and peace. [applause]

It is quite clear that the revolutionary progressive forces and the socialist countries must support this policy and do everything they can to assert and generally disseminate it at a world level. As far as we are concerned, Romania has firmly embarked upon this road and will spare nothing in the future, either, to establish a new and truly equitable and democratic policy in international life.

In connection with trends toward redividing the contemporary world into spheres of influence and dominance, it is interesting to examine the way in which various capitalist countries act in this respect. It thus seems that after the Vietnam defeat, the United States has reached the conclusion that the military way is not the most advantageous one for imposing their policy of domination; therefore, it now lays main emphasis on economic means to promote this policy. Of course, the United States has the appropriate economic means to promote its interests at the international level.

Such an orientation can also be noticed in other states. However, there are also certain countries opting for military force in promoting their interests--this position being determined by the lesser level of economic means available to them. As a matter of fact, international life proves that the use of force and so-called military aid cannot contribute to solving the problems facing mankind today. On the contrary, this adds another burden to the economy of the respective countries and requires that an important part of the national income be alloted to military purposes. It goes without saying that this does not help to promote a progressive policy in the respective countries. On the contrary, it endangers the national independence and the socioeconomic progress and well-being of these peoples and also generates new conflicts endangering international peace and security.

The promotion of such a policy has led to the accentuation of contradictions and tension in international life. This situation highlights the need to take firm action to lessen the tension created and to renounce force and the use of military options in solving problems, so as to insure the continued course toward detente and the policy of cooperation and peace. [applause]

Answering certain questions concerning the situation in the socialist countries, I would like to stress that, generally speaking, all socialist countries have attained good results in their economic development and in building the new social system. Outstanding successes were attained, particularly in industrialization and in the expansion and modernization of the forces of production, science, education and culture. A number of key social problems were also resolved; problems concerning the situation of the workers class, the peasantry, intelligentsia and the broad people's masses.

We must also say that a number of negative phenomena in the process of socioeconomic development are manifest in the socialist countries as well. The rate of development and the national incomes have decreased in certain countries, something which cannot be justified by merely stating that the respective countries have reached a high rate of economic growth and that it is no longer necessary to attain a high rate with regard to increasing production and the national income.

It is obvious that an annual 4-5 percent increase in the national income is not enough if we want to adequately resolve the problems raised by the socioeconomic development and the increase in the people's overall well-being. We must also say that on the whole the socialist countries cannot meet their consumer needs, particularly in the field of agricultural products.

There are certain socialist countries that manage to meet these consumer needs; but on the whole the socialist countries continue to import agricultural and food products and other consumer goods. We must openly state that, in spite of the great results attained in developing the forces of production and the entire national economy, Romania also has a number of shortcomings in this respect, and we must do everything to insure maximum utilization of our resources in order to increasingly meet the consumer requirements of the masses.

As is well known, the recent CPSU plenum and Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's report discussed in detail the situation of agriculture, pointing out both the positive results and the existing shortcomings and establishing measures to raise this important field of the Soviet economy onto higher levels. It is also known that in a number of other socialist countries in Europe and Asia the problem of consumer goods, particularly the grain problem, has not been adequately resolved. In our opinion, considering the objective weather and territorial conditions available to the socialist countries, their economic potential and the superiority of the socialist organization of production, all prerequisites exist for these countries to be able to fully insure the necessary products for the people's consumption and to fully meet the needs of the entire society.

However, at the moment one could say that the socialist countries have a number of economic problems that should receive our attention. We must consider how to joinly act to rapidly solve these key problems. The superiority of socialism and its force cannot be made only in statements but must primarily be demonstrated in the manner of resolving economic problems, problems concerning the people's living and working conditions and other social problems also connected with developing socialist democracy and with improving social leadership on scientific bases. We must act in such a way as to demonstrate in practice the facts, realities and concrete achievements, the superiority of the organization, of socialist society. [applause]

It is necessary to take into account the fact that the effects of the economic crisis do not stop at the borders of the socialist countries, as well as the fact that the socialist system cannot live on its own, cannot detach itself from the world economy, from the division of labor on the world level and from international economic cooperation. Life has demonstrated that the thesis on the autonomy of the socialist system and on creating an independent socialist division of labor opposed to capitalism and other countries does not correspond to reality and to the requirements of material and scientific-technical progress. Thus the trend toward economic isolation can only have a negative influence on socio-economic development and international cooperation.

Some comrades have asked questions concerning problems that appeared in the relations between socialist countries. Indeed, the divergencies between China and the Soviet Union are known; they have a negative impact on the force and prestige of socialism in the world. Therefore the RCP consistently speaks out for normalizing relations between these two socialist countries and strengthening friendship and cooperation between them. Meanwhile, new problems have emerged, such as those between Kampuchea and Vietnam, between China and Vietnam and between China and Albania. There are also divergent problems [word indistinct] between other socialist countries. Our party can only regret this negative evolution of relations between the respective socialist countries and expresses the hope that these states and their communist parties will do everything to rapidly overcome the divergencies.

Of course, all these problems concern the respective countries, which are dutybound to act in the spirit of mutual respect, national independence and sovereignty, fully equal rights and the principles of socialism to solve their problems through direct negotiations. As far as we are concerned, we will do everything to insure that any problem where there are differences between the RCP and our country, on the one hand, and other socialist countries or parties should be solved only through discussions and negotiations in order to strengthen solidarity and unity. [applause]

One should never forget that the transition to the construction of socialism cannot instantly remove the problems accumulated during the historical development; likewise, it cannot prevent the appearance of different opinions on a number of questions. It is quite clear that the perpetuation of divergencies and the continuing inability to solve them can only harm relations between socialist countries. This is due to the fact that the socialist principles are now always applied in relations between the states building the new social system. One often hears that misunderstandings cannot occur between socialist countries and that all problems between them are solved in the spirit of proletarian and socialist internationalism and brotherhood and solidarity. In our opinion, the higher interests of socialism do not require that we hide the realities but that we thoroughly examine in a responsible manner the causes which generate dissensions and contentious problems; they also require that we take action to solve them on the basis of negotiations between the respective sides in order to strengthen solidarity and cooperation in building socialism and in the overall struggle for progress and peace in the world. [applause]

You are familiar with Romania's policy of continuously developing relations of friendship and cooperation with all socialist countries. This policy has proved itself correct and we must firmly continue it. We will act in the future, too, to contribute toward overcoming divergencies and toward solving problems that exist between socialist countries on the basis of direct discussions between the interested sides in order to avoid a sharpening of divergencies and contradictions. In this spirit, we will continue to militate to develop relations with all socialist countries. While openly stating our opinion on various problems, we will firmly and consistently act to solve them, within the framework of our relations with each socialist country.

We attach great importance in our foreign policy to continuously developing relations of friendship, cooperation and solidarity between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the USSR. In the promotion of this policy we have proceeded and are proceeding from the rich historical traditions of the relations of mutual esteem and regard, and of friendship and mutual assistance between our peoples, between the workers classes and progressive forces of the two countries and between our communist parties, and from the fact that Romania and the USSR are neighboring socialist countries. The comprehensive cooperation and the relations of friendship and good neighborliness with the USSR will constitute in the future, too, a particular concern of the RCP and the Socialist Republic of Romania. [applause]

As is well known, last spring I paid an official friendly visit to five socialist countries in Asia. This visit is part and parcel of our consistent policy of developing good relations of cooperation and solidarity with all socialist countries. The visit I paid to the PRC concluded with good results and gave a new and strong impetus to friendly relations between our parties and countries and to the economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries and peoples. Likewise, in the second half of this month Chairman Hua Kuo-feng will pay a visit to Romania at the invitation of our party and state. [applause]

My visit to the DPRK, with which we have a treaty of friendship, has led to intensifying the good Romanian-Korean relations, which, one could say, are an example of cooperation between two socialist countries.

The visits to the SRV, Laos and Kampuchea also concluded with success. It goes without saying that in no way do we counterbalance our relations with China and the other Asian socialist countries with our relations of friendship and cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries in Europe and other continents; likewise, we do not counterbalance our relations with the Soviet Union and other countries with our ties with the PRC and other socialist countries in Asia.

On the contrary, Romania's ties with all socialist countries are without exception part and parcel of a united whole, based on our principled, firm and consistent policy of actively contributing to strengthening the unity and solidarity of all socialist states and to increasing the force and influence of socialism in the world. [applause]

In the spirit of the decisions adopted at the 10th congress and reiterated by the 11th congress and the party national conference, Romania will continuously expand good relations with all socialist states and will not let itself be involved in any way in public polemics and in blaming one or another socialist country. On the contrary, it will do everything to overcome misunderstandings and strengthen the solidarity of these countries. [applause]

Romania pays particular attention to developing cooperation within CEMA. We believe that the recent CEMA session in Bucharest ended with positive results. It adopted a number of special programs for long-term cooperation in fields of great economic importance; programs that will contribute to meeting the CEMA member countries' requirements for fuel, energy, raw materials, agricultural products, machines, equipment and technologies of a high level. We militate and act to intensify cooperation and collaboration between CEMA member countries on the basis of equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, each side's interests and mutual advantage in order to increasingly equalize their development level and accelerate their progress along the road of socialism and communism.

At the same time, Romania consistently acts to promote broad economic, scientific-technical and cultural relations with all socialist countries. In its capacity as a member of the Warsaw Pact, which will exist as long as NATO exists, Romania will develop military cooperation with the other socialist members of this pact. This cooperation will extend into the future, too, regardless of the existence or nonexistence of the Warsaw Pact. Likewise, we strengthen cooperation with the armies of the other socialist countries on the basis of the principles of international solidarity. Proceeding from the need to strengthen and develop each national army, we concern ourselves with raising the combat capacity of our armed forces and all the Romanian people, in order to defend the socialist revolutionary achievements and the country's independence, sovereignty and integrity. [applause]

At the same time, Romania, like the other Warsaw Pact member-countries, consistently advocates the concurrent abolition both of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the elimination of all military blocs and a policy of cooperation on an equal footing between all nations, something that can insure peaceful conditions and can exclude force and war. [applause]

Dear comrades, concerning relations with the developing countries, the policy and guidelines established by the 11th congress and the national conference remain fully valid. It is true that a number of divergencies have appeared among developing countries, including the nonalined countries. These divergencies are being used as a way and a means to divide them and strengthen foreign influences on them in various areas. The most telling example in this respect is Africa, where the problems that have emerged led to armed conflicts and foreign military intervention, something which poses great dangers for the security and independence of the African peoples and for overall peace.

We believe it is of great importance for the more rapid socioeconomic progress of developing countries that they work to strengthen cooperation and solidarity among themselves and to consolidate the unity of all national forces in firmly defending independence and sovereignty, in achieving new democratic reforms and in concentrating the resources and energies of the respective peoples for developing the forces of production and for raising their standard of living.

We firmly state that we will continue to act to strengthen cooperation with all developing countries and to expand cooperation with them. In this respect the experience acquired thus far, be it good or bad, must not be used to restrict cooperation ventures with developing countries, but to better organize future activities, both from the economic viewpoint and from the viewpoint of overall relations with these countries.

I dwell on this subject since there are certain comrades in the economic fields who have advanced proposals on restricting cooperation ventures with developing countries instead of drawing the appropriate lessons from past mistakes. We will not restrict relations of cooperation with these countries in spite of the fact that there are a number of difficulties that must be solved and overcome. Taking into account the fact that Socialist Romania itself is a developing country and that it has limited resources, the main kind of assistance that we can give to developing countries is production sharing in industry, agriculture, construction, transportation and in other fields on mutually advantageous bases.

In this respect we pay particular attention to setting up joint companies in the developing countries and to building production units in these countries; the returns on our country's investments being attained from the production of these units. Of course, we take care that the economic cooperation ventures should develop on profitable bases for both sides and should contribute both to developing the forces of production in these countries, insuring their rapid industrialization, efficiently utilizing their national resources and increasing their national income and to meeting certain needs of our national economy in the full swing of development.

Although it requires an investment in effort on our part, we also grant and will continue to grant technlogical assistance to developing countries, and we will also train specialists from these states in our country, where over 12,000 young people from abroad are currently studying. Although we must face problems concerning teaching and accomodations for these people, our country will not restrict but will expand the training, within our educational system, of specialists from these countries. We feel that the continuous promotion of economic cooperation, technological assistance and specialist training is a direct form [word indistinct] of Romania's consistent contribution toward helping developing countries. It is a political and moral duty that we, in our capacity as communists and as a socialist state, make this contribution. In its turn, Romania also receives in this respect support from these countries.

By continuously expanding cooperation, we create a broad system of mutual and advantageous cooperation among our countries, which amounts to greater solidarity in the common struggle for the independent socioeconomic development of each people, for promoting a new world policy of equality and respect among nations and of full equity and the abolition of the old imperialist policy of domination and oppression. [applause; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP"]

A reality of the current political life is the fact that the nonalined countries, the majority of which are developing countries, are playing an increasingly important role in the international arena. Romania participates in the activity of the nonalined countries' movement as a guest. It develops broad relations with these countries proceeding from the fact that they are a significant force in the anti-imperialist struggle and that they are deeply interested in promoting a new policy of full equality and equity in defending national independence and sovereignty.

Representing an important part of the world's countries, the nonalined states act as a factor for democratizing international relations, and they increasingly assert themselves in solving the great problems facing contemporary mankind. We believe it necessary to do everything to resolve divergencies among these countries and continuously strengthen their unity.

We feel that the recent Belgrade meeting of the foreign ministers of nonalined countries has managed to establish an action program that will lead to increasing the role of these countries in international political life. This has decisive importance for increasing the role and contribution of the nonalined countries in the struggle against imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy and for social progress, peace and solidarity throughout the world.

We also act to continuously develop relations with all countries, regardless of social systems; we actively participate in the international division of labor and in the world exchange of assets.

Concerning the situation in the developed capitalist countries, it is our opinion that in spite of all the profoundly negative phenomena of the crisis it would be erroneous to reach the conclusion that they can no longer resolve the problems of economic development. In spite of their past and present difficulties, the developed capitalist countries still have sufficient forces and continue to play an important role in the international economy. Therefore, Romania's cooperation with these states and the development of comprehensive relations with these countries, obviously in the spirit of our well-known principles, must continue and, in some fields, it must even be expanded.

This cooperation plays an important part in the socioeconomic progress of our country and of other countries. At the same time, we take into account the fact that active participation in the international division of labor contributes toward promoting the policy of detente and peace throughout the world. We proceed from the fact that groups of countries with different social systems will continue to exist for a long time on our planet--socialist countries, capitalist countries and developing countries; the great majority of which have a mixed economy and some of them firmly advocate the socialist path. All these states should develop relations of cooperation among themselves and an active cooperation in solving world problems through peaceful means in the service of overall progress, peace and security for all peoples. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, concerning the situation in Europe, after the conclusions of the Belgrade meeting with the known, unsatisfactory results, it is necessary to think about intensifying both bilateral and multilateral economic relations with European countries in order to implement the Helsinki docments and to thoroughly prepare for the 1980 meeting in Madrid. Aside from developing economic, scientific-technical and cultural relations, particular emphasis should be laid on problems pertaining to military disengagement. It is necessary for both the socialist countries and the capitalist countries participating in the Vienna negotiations to conclude the negotiations as soon as possible and with positive results.

In my opinion, the current proposals of the socialist countries and the capitalist countries lay a good foundation for reaching appropriate understandings soon. The reduction of armaments and troops to the limits proposed by the socialist or capitalist countries does not affect the balance of forces at all. It is obvious that 30,000 or 50,000 men less, [word indistinct] as envisaged in one or another proposal, with their respective armaments, will not change the balance of forces in any way--considering that there are a million soldiers on each side, over 2 million all together--and will not pose any dangers either to the socialist countries or to the capitalist ones. This troop reduction will, however, have a political and psychological significance for Europe and the whole world. It would demonstrate that there is a possibility of reaching an understanding, and it would strengthen trust and open the road to broaching military disengagement in Europe more seriously. At the same time, we must act to insure that the problems pertaining to military disengagement are discussed within the general framework of European security, with the participation of all states.

Let us work in such a way as to insure that these problems occupy a central place at the next meeting in Madrid. I believe that, in this respect, we must resolutely act, at all levels--state, party, mass organizations, including the press, radio, television and cultural activity. Along these lines it is necessary to actively militate to create areas of understanding and peace in Europe and, in this framework, in the Balkans, too. We should aim at a broader program, and we should carry out a more sustained activity to make new steps toward improving cooperation among Balkan countries. Of course, we have good relations with all Balkan countries. We have no problems whatsoever with Bulgaria. On the contrary, our relations with this country are very good. The frequent meetings and talks with Comrade Zhivkov and the understandings reached on these occasions have given great impetus to this cooperation, which took concrete shape in a number of agreements on production sharing, including the joint utilization of the hydroelectric potential of the Danube. This cooperation makes an important contribution to the socio-economic progress of the two countries and a contribution to the cause of socialism and its influence in the world. [applause; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP"]

We have no problems with Yugoslavia, with whom we also have very good relations. We have periodic and very fruitful contacts and talks with Comrade Tito; we have many agreements on economic cooperation and we are jointly building the great Iron Gates electrical facilities, which make a valuable contribution to the progress of the two national economies, thus also serving the cause of socialism, cooperation and peace in the Balkans and throughout the world. [applause]

Our relations with Turkey and Greece are also very good. With Albania, although we do not have relations at party level, we have good relations at the state level, particularly on the economic plane; and we must act to continue to develop these relations. Therefore, we find ourselves in a situation of being able to really take more efficient action to strengthen cooperation and peace in the Balkans.

I think it is high time to think over the enhancement of closer cooperation with the Danube countries. I have in mind Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Austria. Among other things, I am thinking in terms of better use of the Danube. [applause]

Concerning Romania's position regarding the Middle East I would like to state the following: We are profoundly worried about the situation in that part of the world, particularly about the aggravation of the situation in Lebanon, something which poses serious dangers in that area and throughout the world. That is why we actively support the initiatives aimed at bringing peace to the Middle East, something which should lead to resolving the existing problems through Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war and solving the Palestinian people's problem, including the creation of their own independent state. The stagnation manifested in the process of settling the problems of that area is primarily caused by Israel's rigid position. It is necessary to do everything to cause Israel to decide to adopt a more realistic position, thus making use of the favorable conditions created, and to achieve peace in that much troubled part of the world as soon as possible.

In our opinion, it is necessary that the socialist countries advocating a political solution to the Middle East conflict should also be more active in the practical efforts being made to achieve peace in that area. In this respect, in order to give impetus to the efforts to solve the conflict, conditions should be created for the participation of all interested sides in the negotiations, including the PLO, either at the Geneva conference or within another framework, under the aegis or in the active presence of the United Nations.

In connection with questions concerning the current situation in Africa, I would like to refer to the following aspects:

A very serious situation has lately emerged in Africa: a number of conflicts took place, a state of tension was created, military clashes occurred and there is still the danger of new confrontations. This can seriously endanger the independence of the countries on that continent, their socioeconomic development as well as peace in that area and throughout the world.

Romania has firmly advocated and advocates now the settlement of all African problems by the Africans themselves, by excluding any military or other kind of outside interference. With regard to the policy promoted by these countries for their socioeconomic development, we believe that the trend of dividing them into progressive and nonprogressive conservative countries is erroneous. Of course, the African countries have various opinions concerning the ways and means for their socioeconomic emancipation. Some of them are firmly engaged in organizing their society on socialist bases. We must, however, bear in mind that almost all African states are poorly developed and are in the stage of building and consolidating national independent states and forming themselves into independent nations, struggling to lay the economic foundation of their societies and to carry out social reforms, in the interest of their free and indeperdent development.

That is why we must give priority, not to dividing these countries in accordance with their future options, but to strengthening solidarity, completely eliminating imperialist and colonialist domination, consolidating national independence and developing their own independent economy--an essential element of the progress and flourishing of these countries and an essential element of peace. [applause]

Southern Africa is an exception. As is well known, Romania actively supports the struggle of the peoples of Rhodesia and Namibia for national freedom and independence as well as the struggle of the majority population of South Africa against the racist policy of apartheid. There is the prospect for a solution to the Namibian problem in the negotiations currently being held. As it appears from the development of events, it seems that an agreement will be reached on Namibia in the following 2-3 months. If not, new problems will crop up; problems that can complicate the situation. Generally speaking, I think our country can and should do more to solve the problems of Africa, to support the struggle of African peoples for defending and strengthening their national independence and for advancing along the road of socioeconomic progress.

Likewise, I think we should reexamine our country's activity in Latin America and broadly develop cooperation with these states.

We have economic agreements with certain Latin American countries, we have signed joint declarations which create a favorable basis for intensifying economic exchange and cooperation at various levels and for strengthening relations of friendship and mutual assistance in the effort to develop our national economies. We are linked to these peoples by affinities of origin, culture and language, as well as by the present struggle for independence and freedom, for a policy of equality and peace. Taking into consideration all these favorable preconditions and the desire expressed by these countries to expand relations with Romania, I believe that all necessary conditions exist to achieve a much broader and more efficient cooperation between Romania and the states of the Latin American continent.

I will now refer to certain questions regarding more general matters of the current international life and Romania's position in this respect. As for the question of the struggle to eliminate the phenomenon of underdevelopment and achieve a new international economic order, we must state that no proper results have been recorded thus far. Neither the development decade nor the North-South dialog have led to real progress in this respect.

Within this framework the desire has been even more obvious in developed capitalist countries to impose their viewpoint to keep their domination. Certain socialist countries have been excluded from these concerns on the basis that the problems of underdevelopment and of a new international economic order must be the concern of those countries which have had colonies and which thus have the obligation to contribute to resolving these problems. It seems that lately something has changed in this position, but we cannot state that it has been a complete change.

We must proceed from the fact that the elimination of underdevelopment and the achievement of the new international economic order, the promotion of economic relations based on principles of fully equal rights and equity is, in fact, a direct continuation of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. This is why it is necessary to unite the revolutionary movement with the struggle for eliminating underdevelopment and for achieving a new international economic and political order. [applause]

We believe that the socialist countries, the communist and workers parties, the revolutionary movement and all progressive and democratic forces must support this struggle actively; they must occupy an important place in the efforts aimed at achieving these major targets of the present-day world. The communist parties from the developed capitalist countries also have the obligation to actively support the direct demands of the developing peoples to participate directly and with all their strength in the efforts aimed at establishing a new international economic order. This is required by the principle of international solidarity. [applause, chants: "Ceausesou-RCP"]

To intensify the struggle for eliminating underdevelopment--one of the most serious problems of the present epoch--I believe it is very important to organize a special UN session devoted to the new international economic order. The holding of such a session requires first of all that the developing countries reach a consensus on a clear program or guideline in this respect. It is necessary for a UN commission to prepare this session and the appropriate documents as was also the procedure at the session devoted to disarmament. The session must adopt a clear and firm document that will set the principles, the guidelines and means to eliminate underdevelopment and establish new international relations based on complete equality and equity.

In my view, this special UN session could conclude with even better results than the recent disarmament session. In resolving this problem, the developed capitalist countries are also interested in this, considering that the complex economic phenomenon confronting the states cannot be resolved partially, but in the context of the general socioeconomic development of all countries and of all mankind. In resolving this problem it is necessary to take the most appropriate measures to insure free access of the developing countries to modern science and technology and to the great achievements of contemporary civilization to accelerate, in this way, the socioeconomic progress of all backward countries and to rapidly narrow down the great chasms that exist in the development level of states.

A number of questions have been asked in connection with the quite serious phenomena caused in the world economy by the energy and raw material crisis, by the financial crisis and in connection with how this crisis can be overcome. Indeed, in past years the problem of dealing with energy and raw material consumption has become more and more urgent, considering that the natural resources on our planet are not inexhaustible and that the world is not using them rationally. Great squandering has been noted and is being noted in this respect. In our view, the energy and raw material crisis is the result of the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy, of the economic relations of inequality and inequity among states and of the predatory use of the national riches of certain countries and peoples, as well as a result of the negative phenomena determined by the so-called consumer society in the capitalist world which has generated and is generating an unjustified waste of the sources of raw materials and energy.

This is why the solutions to these problems are closely linked to the establishment of a new international economic order, to achieving new interstate relations based on equality, national independence and mutual interest. At the same time, it is necessary for all countries to take firm measures regarding rationalizing and utilizing natural resources and to intensify the efforts to seek new means and possibilities of increasing energy and raw material resources.

Along this line, as you know, Romania is acting with great determination, giving the problem of saving fuel and raw materials priority and making it a central problem of economic development and cooperation to seek new energy sources.

At the international level it is more and more obvious that interstate agreements are necessary to judiciously settle prices. Measures are necessary to achieve a more equitable relation between the prices of various products and especially between the prices of industrial products and those of raw materials, so that this will give an impetus to both the raw material-producing countries and the industrialized countries. The given measures must be in keeping with the interests of all countries and with the general economic development of all peoples.

The world economy is deeply perturbed by the monetary-financial crisis, by the serious inflation phenomena that have forcefully emerged in certain developed capitalist countries; phenomena which have quite seriously affected the developing countries, too, thus actually having negative repercussions on all states and on the whole range of international exchange and cooperation. These are phenomena which have deep roots in the capitalist economy, but which can be dealt with in equitable international settlements, which should be the subject of discussions and meetings with the participation of all states within specialized international bodies and within the United Nations.

Taking into consideration the ever greater independence among the countries of the world, it is no longer possible that these problems should be resolved only by a small group of states, but rather by the whole community of world nations. Romania is determined to make an active contribution to intensifying the states' efforts in this direction in the interest of strengthening the stability of the whole world economy.

At the same time, considering the practices that exist in the world, it is necessary that the international activity place greater stress on the struggle for each nation's independent economic development, for consolidating the national independence of all states. We must act all the more in this manner since it is clear that the tendency toward redividing the world into spheres of influence directly endangers the independence and sovereignty of many states. Supporting the national independence and independent economic development of all nations is, at this time, an essential aspect of all international life. We must never think that once political independence is achieved, the national liberation struggle has ended. On the contrary, the struggle for strengthening the economic and political independence of the new states, for a truly equitable cooperation with these countries, for eliminating underdevelopment as rapidly as possible, is a continuation of the national liberation struggle waged by the peoples. Thus, the revolutionary movement, the socialist countries, the communist and workers parties, including those in the developing capitalist countries, must know that one of their central international duties is to actively support the struggle for defending the national independence of all peoples. [applause]

They are dutybound to unite their efforts with the national liberation movement, with the struggle waged by the peoples for defending freedom and sovereignty and their right to fully master their national riches and to decide their destiny as they wish, without any outside interference.

Thus, the revolutionary movement, the communist parties and the socialist countries will indeed play an important role in international life, and will increase their contribution toward achieving the progressive ideals of the peoples and toward the progressive development of human society. [applause]

Dear comrades, as for disarmament problems, we can state that the special UN session ended with certain positive results. It must be appreciated that a new and more democratic organizational framework has been created for discussing and resolving this problem. The documents, which included proposals from various states, were used as working material in the bodies created under UN aegis. Certainly, the United Nations adopted only general resolutions. What is essential now is to do everything to proceed toward practical measures for general, and primarily nuclear, disarmament. It would be a great mistake to believe that once the session has ended, the peoples and forces who advocate the cause of disarmament and peace will be quiet and lessen their efforts at achieving disarmament. On the contrary, it is more necessary than ever to intensify implementing the proposals of the UN session resolution; it is necessary to make more sustained efforts at the international level to proceed to disarmament.

The problems of SALT must also be mentioned within this framework. We have paid and are paying great attention to the understandings reached in this respect in the past, and to the current negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

As is known, an article [alineat] has been signed to insure a balance in the production of arms between these countries. They have not posed the problem and have not reached an agreement on reducing or stopping the arms race. We believe that it would be a particularly positive fact, and it would have a favorable influence on the world political climate, if agreements could be reached that would provide for measures to stop the arms race and reduce the manufacture of improved weapons, both nuclear and conventional.

Generally speaking, the peoples' supreme interests lie in firmly proceeding with disarmament measures, as well as firm commitments not to use nuclear weapons against nonnuclear countries and the gradual reduction of the military arsenals and troops, and expenditures for the arms race.

As is known, Romania has presented a set of tangible measures aimed at progress in this direction, at giving impetus to concrete and effective disarmament actions. We must all be aware that the perpetuation of the arms race creates a very great danger for the cause of the peoples' development on the path of progress and civilization, including socialist construction and for peace and international security.

Proceeding from these considerations, it is necessary for us to think about new actions on the international level to mobilize the progressive forces of all peoples in the direction of disarmament. I believe that there are favorable international conditions at this time for a positive beginning in this direction. We must be more active, we must take firmer action to turn that possibility into reality. This is in keeping with the interests of our nation that is building socialism, and with the cause of socialism, peace and world civilization. [applause, cheers]

In resolving all complex problems of the present-day world, it is necessary to create conditions for the active participation of all states in international life, and primarily of the small and medium-size states. It goes without saying that we must concern ourselves with the active participation of the small and medium-sized countries in resolving international problems, proceeding from the fact that they are the first victims of the policy of aggression.

The small and medium-sized countries suffer the most from the policy of domination, and they are the most interested in a democratic and peaceful solution to all international problems, so as to guarantee their independence and free development. [applause]

Within this framework, as I have already mentioned, the role of developing countries and of the nonalined countries is obvious. We have not underrated, and cannot underrate, the role of large countries in international life. At the same time, it is necessary to insure the increased role of the United Nations and of other international organizations in resolving the complex problems of the present-day world, considering that these bodies insure the best organizational framework under current circumstances for the active participation of all states in resolving problems and for forcefully asserting the principles of international law and the policy of equality among all states of the world. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, several questions have been asked in connection with our party's position on the phenomena and new tendencies in the communist and workers movement. In this connection I would like to stress the fact that after the Berlin conference, a more forceful and independent development was achieved by various communist and workers parties, as was a broader assertion of the principle of equality, esteem and mutual respect in relations between these parties. At the same time, it must be said that during this period there were still tendencies toward interference in the affairs of some communist and workers parties.

Following the Berlin meeting, a number of communist and workers parties both in Europe and on other continents strengthened their positions. They play a greater political role and exert a more forceful influence both in national political life and at the international level. This demonstrates that the parties' orientation toward an independent policy based on the national historical realities in the given countries is completely correct. Therefore, we must do all we can to contribute to the forceful assertion of these principles in the future in relations within the communist and workers movement, so that each party's right to independently formulate its policy, strategy and revolutionary tactics is respected in conformity with the conditions in the country in which it carries out its activity, and without any outside interference.

At the same time, we must take the most appropriate action to continuously strengthen cooperation and international solidarity among the communist and workers parties. The assertion of the policy of independence is not at variance with and must not be at variance with the solidarity among these parties, or with developing an ever broader and closer cooperation among them so as to achieve the advanced ideals of the peoples: Democracy, socialism and peace. [applause]

Certainly, we understand the concerns, and the search by various parties, to solve specific problems in their countries, both in Western Europe and in other parts of the world. We believe that their orientation is generally correct.

On various occasions I have referred to Eurocommunism. Certainly, this notion as such does not say a great deal. It will not lead to a new orientation in the process of revolutionary struggle and building the socialist society which is taking place under very diverse social, economic, historical and geographical circumstances. The communist and workers parties, their practice and revolutionary strategy cannot be labelled by the areas or regions in which they carry out their activity, but rather on the basis of how they resolve the basic problems of changing society, of social and national justice and equity in each country.

However, we understand that in Eurocommunism the respective parties desire to promote an independent policy, that in their revolutionary struggle they want to act in accordance with the conditions in their respective countries and with the interests and desires of the great majority of the people.

The fact that certain parties are against a model of socialist construction--and this is their right--does not entitle them to draw up another compulsory model for others. We must understand that socialism and transformation can be achieved only by taking into consideration realities and not patterns, and that no word can change the revolutionary concept in the development of human society. [applause]

In connection with these problems, I have had talks both with the leaderships of certain communist and workers parties in the West, and from other continents and socialist countries. We discussed problems in a direct manner, without engaging, of course, in public polemics, even when I had certain reserves toward this or that position. We voiced our opinion openly in connection with how we understand things.

In connection with the question on renunciation by certain parties of the concept of Marxism-Leninism, I would like to say the following: As is known, Marx and Engels were the founders of scientific socialism, the revolutionary theory of life and the world. However, Marx never pretended that this theory should be called Marxism. Undoubtedly, today, too, he would be against the fact that scientific socialism should bear his name.

Likewise, as is known, Lenin made a particularly important contribution to developing scientific socialism. But he did not ask that scientific socialism be called Leninism. Certainly, the concept of Marxism-Leninsim was used as a token for the merits of these great thinkers and revolutionary militants. One must understand that scientific socialism is not a closed doctrine, formulated once and for all. Our revolutionary theory is developing and becoming richer and richer, in keeping with the changes that occur in social life, in the practice of the communist parties and in universal knowledge.

As a matter of fact, both dialectics and materialism existed even before their time. The founders of scientific socialism developed it in a new revolutionary manner, and turned it into an arm of struggle for the proletariat and the working masses. They based their theory on the most progressive discoveries of science by giving the knowledge existing at that time general application, in keeping with the development stage of the forces of production and of society respectively. However, one must not create a basic problem regarding the use or nonuse of the concept of Marxism-Leninism in the communist and workers movement, in one sense or another. Some have added to their party's name the term Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, a number of existing political and theoretical currents of today call themselves Marxist-Leninist. It is each party's right to choose its name as it thinks best. In the final instance, what is essential is not the fact that one or another party calls itself Marxist-Leninist or truly Marxist-Leninist. What is essential is the stress that is placed on the scientific contents of the revolutionary theory that forms the basis of the activity carried out by a party, and the correctness of the political orientation of the parties in their revolutionary struggle, in conformity with the basic principles of socialism and ethical requirements.

The basic problem in the conditions of the current epoch, which is characterized by the forceful development of the forces of production and by the most comprehensive scientific-technical revolution, with a great upsurge of human knowledge, is the continuous improvement of scientific socialism and the increase in each party's contribution to developing our revolutionary theory in keeping with the imperatives of the development of human society and social practice. Only thus will the communist parties and revolutionary movements be able to develop even more forcefully to fulfill their historic mission of the revolutionary transformation of the world and of insuring peace. [applause, cheers]

Questions also have been raised in connection with criticism by certain parties in the West of a number of specific problems in the life of some socialist countries and of the policy promoted by them in one case or another.

We have discussed these problems with several parties, including the parties that have voiced such criticism, openly expressing our own views. Certainly, as I have already mentioned, not everything is ideal in the socialist countries. Unfortunately, certain problems have not been completely resolved in these countries, including Romania.

The principles of socialist ethics and equity have not always been fully applied and there is still a great deal to be done to implement them completely. At the same time, certain abuses have been committed at particular times in connection with which our party--as in fact other parties too--took a stand at the time. However, there still are certain problems whose solution is determined by raising the forces of production to a higher degree, by a more intensive development of science, culture and education and by increasing the resources and means available in society.

On the whole, however, one cannot deny that the socialist countries have accomplished historic achievements, such as the elimination of exploitation and the expoliting classes, of the degree of socioeconomic inequality of the capitalist regime, the improvement of the material and cultural level of the masses and remarkable successes in socialist construction.

However, it is obvious that a number of reactionary imperialist circles are trying to use all propaganda means available to slander the socialist countries, to thwart the influence of the ideas of socialism on the peoples' awareness and to lessen the prestige of socialism in the world.

One must not forget that in the socialist countries, too, there are still renegades and declasse elements who for a handful of silver will betray their country and put themselves at the service of reactionary circles and the enemies of their own people.

At the same time, one must not forget the fact that various forms of espionage and subversion are being intensively pursued against the socialist countries. As life itself demonstrates, all these efforts are in vain; the victorious progress of socialism cannot be stopped by any ill-willed attacks since it asserts itself to an ever greater extent as the only means of freeing mankind from exploitation and oppression and of achieving the ideals of freedom and social and national justice for all peoples. [applause]

To question the entire work accomplished in the socialist countries will not contribute to the just and objective understanding by the people's masses of the realities of socialism and will not help the struggle waged by the workers class and the democratic forces in the capitalist countries. We understand that a number of aspects of realities in the socialist countries can be criticized. However, it is difficult to understand the involvement of certain communist parties in official statements against certain acts and events taking place in these countries. We believe that such positions do not serve the respective parties, the socialist countries, or the policy of detente and international cooperation.

In criticizing certain negative states of affairs, one also must depict what is positive in the socioeconomic development of the socialist countries. One must objectively depict how socialism has resolved a number of vital problems of the great majority of people in a completely different manner, and infinitely more rationally, than the capitalist system has done and can do. In defining certain mistakes and abuses in the socialist countries, the communist parties in capitalist countries also must objectively depict the essential state of affairs in these countries, the great efforts to develop them and to raise the peoples' level of civilization--the great prospects that have been opened and are being opened by socialism for material and cultural prosperity and for well-being and freedom of the whole of mankind. [applause]

The contemporary world, as in fact all of history, is marked by an intensive ideological confrontation between the revolutionary and progressive forces on the one hand and the exploiting classes and reactionary circles on the other, in connection with a number of basic problems of social development, of organizing society, of the masses' rights and freedoms, of the human condition, of philosophic thinking and artistic creativity.

This confrontation has been characteristic of all stages in the historical evolution of society. It manifested itself as a necessity of the class struggle and of the revolutionary changes both in the basis and superstructure of society. As is known, the bourgeoisie entered the historical arena waging a fierce struggle against the old feudal mentalities, against the ideas and theories of the dominating classes of the Middle Ages by forcefully asserting its own theoretical, philosophical and social ideas which, at that time, were a step forward in the development of human civilization and scientific thought.

In its turn, the proletariat--the most advanced class of society--formulated its own theory on the world and life, based on the newest achievements of science, dialectical and historical materialism and scientific socialism, which asserted itself and improved and developed in the firm struggle against the ideology of the exploiting classes and the reactionary concepts of the bourgeoisie.

From its very beginnings over one century ago, scientific socialism fought and destroyed a number of theories aimed at curbing the revolutionary process and historical progress; it fought and shattered obscurantist and idealistic ideas and interpretations of natural and social phenomena, as well as mystic explanations of the origins of the universe, of matter and of man. Various progressive, scientific currents and schools of thought that appeared in all areas--I will mention only Darwinism in the area of ideology--constituted an expression of the progressive social forces' struggle to understand the world, against the outdated, reactionary ideological concepts promoted by the dominating classes. The old defeated and compromised theories are currently being brought to light again in the capitalist world, albeit in a modified form, in order to sow confusion among the various social strata, to mask the evils of the bourgeois society, and to confuse those who are seeking a new path to social progress.

As for the discussions on democracy and on human rights, socialism always has held that genuine democracy and true humanitarianism are incompatible with the perpetuation of man's exploitation by man, with the grave economic, social and political inequalities preserved under capitalism, with national, social and racial discrimination. One cannot speak of a real democracy, of freedom and of insuring the basic human rights in a society that does not give the masses the basic right to earn their living through work, to participate directly in the leadership of the various fields of activity, and in decision-making in areas that affect their own life and future. Our idea of democracy--and in this context, our idea of human rights--proceeds from the need to insure complete equality among people, to establish equitable socioeconomic relations, and to permit each citizen to lead a dignified life; it proceeds from the need to secure free access to education, science and culture, and direct participation by the people, regardless of their nationality, and especially by the working masses, in leading the entire society. Only this kind of practical approach to the problem of democracy permits full assertion of man's personality, and is in keeping with man's liberation and with his position as master of his fate. [applause, cheers]

We believe that in the matter of human rights, the duty of the revolutionary forces is to make energetic efforts to actually meet the basic requirements of the working masses, to eliminate all forms of man's exploitation by man, to permit all citizens to freely assert themselves in all areas of material and intellectual creation and to permit them to participate without restrictions in leading the society.

This is why we believe that humanitarian problems against the exploiting classes should be placed at the center of the revolutionary struggle for progress and civilization, for revolutionary achievements and for building a better and more just world.

On the issue of human rights, there have been attempts to shift the emphasis onto marginal topics or formal aspects, in a bid to divert attention from the grave social evils affecting man in a capitalist society. In certain countries, there is talk of the people's right to emigrate, but what lies behind this is the desire to enable the large multinationals to recruit cheap labor, especially intellectual labor, and to promote nihilist and cosmopolitan concepts designed to annihilate national feelings and freedom and to consolidate policies of domination and oppression of other nations and peoples. [applause]

Questions also have been raised about the emergence and increase in terrorism in various countries, and about our party's interpretation of this situation. Naturally, the emergence and development of terrorism result from the crisis and decadence of the capitalist society, from the inability of the bourgeois state to solve the complex social and national problems facing the system. As for our stand on this problem, I want to stress that our communist party, like the revolutionary movement in general, always has disapproved of and censured--even during the times of underground activities--terrorism in all its forms. We have distinguished and continue to make a clear distinction between armed struggle for national and social liberation, and individual terrorist actions. We believe that terrorism can never serve as a form of political struggle, in any circumstance. Regardless of the problems to be solved in a certain country, terrorism can only complicate and, ultimately, bar solutions to those problems.

The causes of this phenomenon must of course be examined and dealt with; however, whatever the causes, terrorist actions can be neither justified nor condoned. We believe that whatever the pretext for terrorist acts, they run contrary to the cause of liberation of peoples, to the cause of social justice and progress. Class struggle can by no means be replaced by individual acts of terror. Only conscious unity among the masses, the progressive social forces and the peoples, and only intensive mass activities, carried out in various forms, can bring about just solutions to social problems, protect democracy and civil rights and freedoms, and can insure triumph in the struggle for national liberation and in the revolutionary struggle for progress and a better life, for revolutionary, socialist changes in the world, for peace in the world. [applause]

In the capitalist world, which is profoundly affected by social and moral decadence, owing to the fact that certain people see no way out of the economic and social difficulties and toward a new and more just society, we are witnessing the emergence of all kinds of nihilist and anarchistic concepts, some leaning toward the extreme left, and some toward the extreme right. These concepts have nothing in common with the efforts to solve the people's urgent problems and to effect democratic and socialist changes in society. Unfortunately, some of these theories sometimes find support among certain communists, too. It must be clear to everyone that the revolutionary theory of social democracy and human rights is incompatible with freedom for fascism, for terrorism, for reactionary and declasse elements, who threaten people's lives and the progressive development of society.

Various reactionary circles are trying to revive long outmoded theories on the role and place of art and culture in social life. Above all, they deny that culture is responsible for society, claiming that art and culture are above such things. According to the views that are being voiced, or rather revived, artists and writers are chosen people holding a monopoly on esthetic understanding, taste, and perception of good and evil in the world.

It is being said that they are the ones to shape the people's taste, while the masses, society as a whole, must passively adopt their taste, views and creations. Such views strongly reflect the leanings of the most reactionary ideology; they negate the role of the masses in social life and in forging history. At the same time, they are designed to disarm and demobilize the revolutionary forces, to separate art and culture from those forces, and to put intellectual creation at the service of the interests of the exploiting classes.

There also are attempts to reduce the sphere of creation to literature and art alone, ignoring scientific creation, which is in fact the one opening up new vistas of civilization and progress in society, as well as the creations of the masses, the creators of the material assets and of the material and intellectual wealth of the peoples.

It is not to be denied that literature and art constitute an important facet of social creation, and that they play an important role in the life of our society. However, due attention must be paid at the same time to stimulating and encouraging scientific and technical creation, as well as the material creation of the working people, who play the decisive role in insuring the advancement of society. Literary-artistic creation should not be opposed to the masses, but, on the contrary, one must grasp that such creation can only develop in close connection with the development of the production forces, thus serving the people and their revolutionary and progressive struggle. This is the only art that can serve the cause of progress and civilization. [applause]

In view of all the above theories and concepts, the revolutionary and progressive forces, primarily the communist and workers parties, must become more active. They should not be on the defensive, but, on the contrary, should carry out intensive and consistent political-ideological propaganda efforts; they must resolutely fight against and finally unmask all the reactionary theses and ideas, both the old and the new. At a time when science is reaping new and grand victories in understanding the secrets and laws of matter and of the universe, and when new discoveries conclusively demonstrate the materialism of the world, thus fully confirming the validity of our revolutionary outlook on life and society, the workers class, the communist parties, and the revolutionary and democratic forces have at their disposal powerful arguments and means to raise ideological activities to ever higher levels, to combat and defeat all idealistic, obscurantist and mystical ideas, all forms of reactionary thinking, to insure the triumph of progressive and revolutionary concepts of the world. [applause]

In this connection, in my talks with certain comrades from the leadership of various West European communist parties we agreed that we should organize seminars and colloquims of debate and clarify the above problems and other theoretical aspects and matters of principle concerning the evolution of contemporary society. At the same time, we must encourage debates on these problems in our country, too, on the basis of a clear program and guidelines, proceeding from the decisions of the 11th congress and the national conference. The "Song to Romania" Festival for one, conceived, as is known, as a form of active manifestation of political-ideological activities in all areas, is currently geared more to artistic events, although that was not its initial purpose. This tendency is even stronger in the second observation of this festival, although we should have been paying greater attention to the ideological education of the masses, to debates on complex problems, so as to supply the people with answers to all their problems and so that all our citizens will be armed with the most advanced achievements of science and human knowledge and will become active strugglers to assert the revolutionary concepts on the world and life in our country and throughout the world. [applause]

Questions also have been raised about the RCP's view on the idea of organizing international meetings with the communist parties, and new conference on the pattern of the Berlin conference.

Our opinion is that such events should not be excluded, and that we cannot afford not to have international meetings. Naturally, we believe that current conditions do not make possible a world meeting of the communist and workers parties. However, a European meeting could be accomplished. Needless to say, this is not an immediate issue. This is a matter of principle. However, considering the experience gained in Berlin, we believe that a new meeting can be held, a meeting that should consolidate and carry that experience further, and contribute to clarifying the new problems that have emerged and that are continually emerging in international life, as well as certain ideological problems.

We even believe that the periodical organization of international meetings is a must. Naturally, in the condition of the contemporary revolutionary struggle, of the great development of the communist parties, and of the enormous variety of conditions in which these parties are acting, any attempt to have one center of leadership of the communist and workers movement is unthinkable. Life shows that such a center of leadership of the communist and workers movement is neither necessary nor possible. We struggle for each party's full independence to be respected, and we believe that such independence is not in contradiction to an international meeting for exchanges of views, for clarifying problems, for strengthening solidarity among the parties, and for achieving a new type of unity.

Worthy of mention is the fact that various political organizations have intensified their international activities: New international centers have emerged. Currently the Socialist International is developing its activities in both Europe and on other continents. At the same time, various liberal, Christian Democratic and other parties have stepped up their efforts to promote their concepts. As is also known, various extreme right organizations, which are overtly anticommunist, are becoming increasingly active and organized also at the international level. I want to call special attention to the revival of organizations adopting fascist and Hitlerite theories, which constitute a serious threat for the cause of social democracy and progress, and toward which we must adopt a firm stand, to unmask them and fight them with political and ideological weapons.

Obviously, in view of the current world conditions, the communist parties must also find ways of discussing together the new theoretical, ideological and political problems, and asserting their common stands on various aspects of social development and international life. The communists must give a firm riposte to unjust tendencies at both national and international level. This is why we are the advocates of European meetings of communist and workers parties organized on the basis of full equality and open to all exchanges of opinions and experience. [applause]

As is known, the RCP is developing intensive relations of cooperation with the socialist and social democratic parties, in the belief that it is now absolutely necessary to intensify cooperation among the communist parties on the one hand, and the communist and social democratic parties on the other hand, both at a national level, to accelerate the progressive and democratic development of those countries, and, at an international level, in the struggle for security, for the new economic order, disarmament and general peace.

We also speak out for strengthening our solidarity with the national liberation movements, with government parties in developing and nonalined countries, and with other democratic parties, including religious ones. We regard this broad international cooperation as part and parcel of efforts to unite all the forces struggling for social progress, for national independence and sovereignty, for friendship among peoples and for peace.

I also think that we should define more clearly our stand on certain international mass organizations. I am referring to trade union, youth and women's organizations.

Of course, these organizations have many failings in their work, and, because of mistakes committed in the past, they have become rigid and sectarian. We believe that the right thing to do is not to pull out from such organizations or to dismantle them, but to reorganize and democratize them, to turn them into open organizations capable of uniting the working people, the women and youth on the basic problems of the contemporary world. Therefore, the activities of the international mass organizations must be seriously discussed in order to find ways of strengthening their role in uniting the social forces they represent.

One may say that a scientific, materialist-dialectical analysis of the phenomena and trends currently prevailing in the world demonstrate that there are real chances for international life to advance along positive paths, for the peoples to increasingly assert their will to live in a world of peace and cooperation, and to develop and cooperate freely, along the path of socioeconomic progress, of well being and civilization. Although currently there are serious and grave contradictions in international life, as well as tension and conflicts, and although simultaneously with the increase in the people's struggle for freedom, independence and progress, there are also setbacks and lapses in the intensity of that struggle, one may still say that the general trend is positive.

The socialist ideas of independence and progress are increasingly asserting themselves, despite difficulties and attempts by reactionary forces to halt historical progress. We are therefore convinced that we may look to the future with confidence. The peoples--the true makers of history--have the strength and capability to overcome all difficulties and obstacles, and to build a better and more just world, a world of peace and cooperation. [applause]

These, comrades, were the problems we saw fit to examine today with the central party-state aktiv. I must add that they were recently examined by the Executive Political Committee, and that we reached total unanimity on them. It was on this basis that we decided to put them before the aktiv, the party and the people. [applause, cheers]

Proceeding from the above, I want to conclude by stressing that our party and Socialist Romania must intensify their international efforts. We must develop relations at both state and party level; we must firmly struggle to consolidate cooperation and solidarity with all the socialist countries, with the progressive and anti-imperialist forces throughout the world, and must make an increasingly active contribution to the cause of international peace and cooperation, in keeping with our own interests and with the interests of all the peoples in the world. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, we approach all of the above international questions on the basis of total harmony between the domestic and foreign policies of our party and state. Insuring peace and security is a must for successfully accomplishing our country's socioeconomic development, for successfully building the comprehensively developed socialist society, and for Romania's advance toward communism.

This is why, simultaneously with intensified efforts to constructively settle international issues, we must also work resolutely to fulfill the 11th congress decisions and the party program. In so doing we fulfill not only our sacred duty to our people, but also our honorable duty to the cause of socialism, social progress, cooperation and peace throughout the world, because only if each socialist country solves its own problems satisfactorily, will the force and prestige of socialism increase in the world. [applause]

We have obtained good results in the fulfillment of the provisions of the current 5-year plan.

In the past 2 and 1/2 years industrial production was exceeded by over 40 billion lei. This is the guarantee that by 1980 we will exceed the 5-year plan provisions by over 100 billion lei, as was decided at the party national conference. We have obtained good results in agriculture, and in other economic sectors, too. Education, science and culture, and political-ideological work to shape the new man and to raise the people's socialist consciousness, are also developing. On the basis of the results attained in developing the production forces and of increases in the international income, we were in a position to secure the necessary means for both rapidly developing the national economy and for increasing the working people's incomes more considerably. We have concluded the first stage of renumeration increases, and will implement the second stage in the coming years, so that by the end of the 5-year plan, the real income of the working people will increase by approximately 32 percent, instead of the 20 percent initially envisaged. This conclusively demonstrates that only development of the material forces creates conditions for general progress, for implementing our party's chief policy, a policy focused on raising the level of well-being and the happiness of all our people. [applause]

We are undoubtedly entitled to be pleased with what we have achieved under the party's leadership. However, we must be aware of the shortcomings that remain in our activities and of the fact that greater efforts are required to fulfill all the targets and tasks established in all areas of activity. As I also stressed at the recent Central Committee plenum, the key problem in the economy is to achieve the planned physical production in all the branches and in all the enterprises. We must work to fulfill the investments plan, to make up as quickly as possible for lags in this field, and to commission all the planned economic projects on schedule. At the same time, we must take resolute measures to insure maximum utilization of the existing production capacities, to increase labor productivity in all sectors and to employ the labor force rationally.

One of our most important targets is to use raw and other materials prudently, to reduce consumption rates and implement the consumption norms established, to raise the technical and quality level of all products, to enhance the efficiency of all economic activities and to provide ever more efficient solutions to foreign trade problems, especially export problems. We must take a more resolute stand on all the above problems, with a view to improving the work of collective leadership bodies in the economy, at all echelon levels, in accordance with the new measures established at the national conference and the recent Central Committee plenum on developing self-management and introducing self-administration in enterprises.

Acting with all our forces to achieve these targets, we must also take action to continuously improve the leadership of our society on a scientific basis in order to develop socialist democracy and to fully capitalize on the organizational framework we have created so that the working people and all people can directly participate in the leadership of the various sectors of activity and in governing the state and society and in consciously shaping their own destiny and future. [applause]

We must take more determined action to strengthen the unity of all working people, irrespective of nationality, and of all our people within the framework of the socialist unity front under the leadership of our Communist Party, this being a sure guarantee of the firm advance along the path of building the comprehensively developed society and the steady advance toward the communist system. [applause, cheers]

Looking into this hall at the 7,000 party-state aktivists here and thinking of other thousands and tens of thousands of aktivists watching us on television, I think of the tremendous forces we have, how powerful our party-state aktiv is. In fact we have such working and organizational forces available that there will be no problems that cannot be appropriately resolved. [applause, cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-RCP"]

Certainly, comrades, this requires us to perform better work, it requires a stronger spirit of responsibility, discipline and order; each man at his workplace must spare no effort to do his duty to the party and to socialism, and to our nation which is building the socialist society. [applause, cheers]

We have a powerful party that totals 2,800,000 members, in which the workers and peasants represent the great majority. This demonstrates its capability to unite the efforts of all people in the great work of building the greatest system in the world, thus honorably fulfilling its mission as the leading political force of all our people. [applause]

We have a powerful workers class, a peasantry that is fulfilling its duties and an intelligentsia closely linked to the people. We can state that all working people, irrespective of nationality, are a huge force which, under our party's leadership, guarantees Romania's progress toward communism and insures that Romania will become ever more powerful and will ever flourish and that it will occupy an increasinly disgnified place among the ranks of the world's free nations. [Applause, cheers, chants: "Ceausescu and the people"]

With a firm belief in the force of our party and people, we are convinced that Socialist Romania will achieve ever greater successes in building the comprehensively developed socialist society and that it will make an ever more important contribution to the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world. [applause, cheers]

I wish all the party-state aktivists and all our party and people ever greater successes in their activity devoted to socialism, to the country's independence and sovereignty and to socialism and peace [as heard], as well as much good health and happiness. [lively, prolonged applause, cheers, chants: "Ceausescu and the people"] I wish you progress in your work!

COOPERATION COMMISSION WITH BENIN MEETS

AU041012Y Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 4 Aug 78 AU

[Text] The first session of the Romanian-Benin joint commission on economic and technical cooperation has been held in Bucharest. The foreign ministers of the two countries, Stefan Andrei and Michel Alladaye, signed the session protocol. The next session will take place in Cotonou next year.

SIERRA LEONEAN FOREIGN MINISTER ENDS VISIT

AU041013Y Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 4 Aug 78 AU

[Text] The minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Sierra Leone, Dr Abdulai Conteh, has ended his visit to our country. During his visit, a memorandum was signed to promote trade and economic cooperation between the two countries, as well as a program on cultural and scientific exchange.

OFFICIALS TO ATTEND COLOMBIAN PRESIDENT'S INAUGURATION

AU031528Y Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 3 Aug 78 AU

[Text] Comrade Emil Bobu, vice president of the State Council, left Bucharest for Bogota today to represent the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania at the inauguration of the new president of Colombia, Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala. Comrade Bobu will be accompanied by Ilie Radulescu, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

POPIT RECEIVES VISITING PCI OFFICIAL PAJETTA

LD031731Y Belgrade TANJUG in English 1605 GMT 3 Aug 78 LD

[Text] Ljubljana, August 3, (TANJUG)--Member of the LCY Presidency and president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia Franc Popit today met with member of (?the Italian Communist) Party directorate Giancarlo Pajetta. Pajetta is on a short vacation in this Yugoslav constituent republic.

During the meeting held in a friendly atmosphere, Popit and Pajetta discussed some questions from the work of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of Italy, relations between the two parties and states, and the present situation within the international workers' movement.

PERUVIAN DELEGATE COMMENTS ON NONALINED CONFERENCE

LD022208Y Belgrade TANJUG in English 2109 GMT 2 Aug 78 LD

["Pool" item]

[Text] Lima, August 2 (TANJUG)--The non-aligned ministerial conference in Belgrade was a major success, as it consolidated non-aligned unity and solidarity, Dr. Julio Ego-Aguirre Alvarez, Peruvian delegation head at the conference, has said on return from Belgrade to Lima.

In his assessment, Peru's positions are identical with those set forth by President Tito of Yugoslavia at the Belgrade conference. They concern the need for member countries to defend the independence of the movement and to keep it dissociated from power blocs, while rejecting all attempts to impose on it commitments alien to those which brought it into being.

On removing current disagreements, the nonaligned movement reaffirmed its fundamental stands by which the movement inspires itself and by which it is orientated, maintaining its autonomy of concept, ideology and policy, Dr. Julio Ego-Aguirre Alvarez pointed out. The realized solidarity of the nonaligned countries shows that the movement's course goes in the direction of cooperation and mutual aid with the view of solving the world's major problems, he said.

The Peruvian delegation head also described Peru's position at the Belgrade conference as reflecting the country's "authentic non-aligned character" resulting from the nature of Peru's own and autonomous political model and development".

Peru is committed to preserving the authentic character of non-alignment, reaffirming its own identity, and opposing all forms of hegemony or foreign domination, whatever their source, he said.

NIN REPORTS HIGHER INCIDENCE OF STRIKES IN SFRY

AU031355Y Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1438 30 Jul 78 p 9 AU

[Dragan Jovanovic article: "Serious Matters"]

[Summary] The largest number of strikes occurred in Yugoslav factories at the time of the economic reform in 1965. Since that time "there have never been as many until recently. There were about 40 of them in Slovenia in the first 4 months of this year alone. The Council of the Trade Unions of Croatia listed 11 work stoppages in its republic in the first half of the year. There have also been strikes in other republics. However, in some places strikes are still viewed through the old outmoded political spectacles.

"It appears as though some communities strive to hush up strikes in order to present a picture of great political stability and maturity of their region. But, in fact, this is a cowardly way out of admitting the opposite." More and more people, however, are beginning to understand the reasons for the wave of strikes precisely after the adoption of the law on associated labor. They do not consider it necessary to conceal strikes from the public. "The Slovenes were the first to realize this" and they have dealt with strikes calmly "without ill will and drama" and have usually "neutralized them through political talks."

According to an analysis prepared by "strike experts," the average strike in Yugoslavia involves about 150 workers and, in 93 percent of cases lasts less than 8 hours. Most of the strikes occur because of low personal incomes, high production norms and poor rules and regulations, which had been often adopted by the workers involved only a month earlier.

BRIEFS

DEATH OF OFFICIAL--Belgrade--Simo Babic, member of the Council of the Federation, died in Belgrade today aged 66. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 25 Jul 78 LD]

CHINESE JOURNALISTS--Zagreb, July 25 (TANJUG)--A delegation of the Federation of Journalists of the People's Republic of China, now on a visit of several days to Yugoslvaia, had talks with the republican secretary for education and culture of the Yugoslav Constituent Republic of Croatia, Dr. Stipe Suvar, and the secretary of information, Nikola Ban. At the talks the delegation members displayed interest in the system and development of education, especially in the reformed education, in the role and place of culture, the development of activities in the field of information, as well as in possibilities of the promotion of cooperation between Yugoslavia and China in these fields. The delegation of Chinese journalists, headed by the editor-in-chief of PEOPLE'S DAILY, Hu Chi-wei, especially displayed interest in the system and organization of work of the "Josip Broz Tito" political school at Kumrovec, which the delegation also visited. [Text] Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 25 Jul 78 LD]

COOPERATION WITH SOMALIA--Belgrade--Branislav Ikonic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, yesterday received Mohamed Sheikh Osman, Somalian minister of industry, who is heading an economic delegation of his country on a visit to Yugoslavia. In a talk held on the occasion the possibilities were discussed for promoting bilateral cooperation, particularly in the field of economic relations, trade, the construction of economic projects and scientific-technical cooperation. Stojan Matkaliev, member of the Federal Executive Council and president of the Federal Committee for Energy and Industry, also participated in the talk. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Aug 78 p 4 AU]

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